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FROM

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The Earthquake at Lisbon.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO

THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

. . . . . .

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. XV.

OR VOL. VI. OF THE MODERN PART.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY ISAAC COLLINS AND SON, FOR SAMUEL STANSBURY AND CO.

1804.

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Dr Calvin C. Page

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES,
AUTHOR OF THE BRITISH NEPOS, &c. &c.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY ISAAC COLLINS AND SON, FOR SAMUEL STANSBURY AND CO.

1804.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

EARL OF WARWICK,

&c. &c. &c.

THIS VOLUME

OF

MODERN UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF CONSIDERATION

AND ESTEEM, INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST FAITHFUL

AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

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MODERN HISTORY.

HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

CHAPTER I.

General Description of Portugal, and its History under its Counts.

THIS is the most westerly kingdom of Europe, being bounded on the west and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the east and north by Spain. Its extreme length is about three hundred miles, and its greatest breadth one hundred and fifty.

Lusitania is the Latin name constantly appropriated to this country by modern writers; yet it is evident that the limits of the ancient Lusitania by no means corresponded with the present Portugal, of whose etymology various origins are given: one, which at least possesses the semblance of probability, is, that a number of Gauls having landed at Porto, it received the appellation of Portus Gallorum, and in process of time, the name being softened, was gradually extended to the whole country; but when this event happened, or what occasioned the migration of the Gauls, are particulars buried in oblivion. Another etymology which has more certain foundations in history, is as follows: on an emi-

nence which overlooks the mouth of the river Douro stood an ancient town, named Cale, which proving inconvenient for trade, a town or hamlet was erected on the shore, and called Portus Cale, or the Haven of Cale; and by a refinement in language, Portucalia. At length an episcopal see was erected here, the bishops of which subscribed themselves Portucalenses, and the name of the city was transferred to the diocese, which in early times was almost co-extensive with the little country where the sovereignty originally began. As the dominions, however, were enlarged by successive conquests, the name of the diocese was lost, but the kingdom still retained it.

Situated between 37 and 42 degrees of north latitude, the air of Portugal would be excessively hot, were it not refreshed by sea-breezes towards the south, and cooled by frequent rains towards the north. The spring is extremely delightful in this climate; and the whole country is blest with a happier temperature than Spain. The air of Lisbon, from its balmy softness, has justly been reputed highly salutary in pulmonic complaints; and many invalids of that description take a voyage thither from Great Britain with the happiest effects.

The soil is abundantly fertile in wine, oil, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, figs, raisins, almonds, and other choice fruits; but from the low state of agriculture rather than natural sterility, there is a considerable deficiency in corn. Both the sea and the rivers produce excellent fish. The horses are brisk and lively, but slight made, and on account of their being surer footed, mules are most in request for draught

and burden. The pastures being generally very indifferent, neither cattle nor sheep are very numerous; but hogs and kids are plentiful, and their flesh tender and nutritive. The Portuguese wines, when old and genuine, are esteemed not only safe to drink, but salutary to the human constitution; but the whole kingdom does not produce half the quantity that is drank in London only, under the specious name of port.

The general aspect of Portugal is mountainous or rather rocky. The chief ranges are those which divide Algarva from Alentejo; those of Trales Montes, and the rock of Lisbon at the efflux of the Tajo. These contain mines of silver, copper, tin, and iron, beautifully veined marble, gems, and fossils. Near Lisbon is a mine of salt-petre. The principal rivers are the Minho; the Limia, anciently the celebrated Lethe; the Cavado; the Douro; the Guardiana; and the Tajo or Tagus, which was famed for its golden sands. The last is the largest river in the kingdom. Portugal also contains several lakes and medicinal springs; and natural hot baths are found in the province of Algarva.

Popery is the only religion tolerated in Portugal; yet, as must be expected where liberty of conscience is denied, there are many concealed Jews and heretics even in the higher ranks, among the ecclesiastics as well as the laity. The inquisition, that eternal disgrace to reason and religion, reigns here in full force, though it is now used chiefly as a state engine; and the burning of those who are condemned by its sanguinary tribunals is called an *auto de fé*, or "act of faith." The patriarch of Lisbon is

generally a cardinal, and a person of the highest birth. Indeed, the revenues of several of the ecclesiastics are suited to the dignity of princes.

The language differs only provincially from that of Spain; and both are derived from the Latin. The Portuguese is spoken along the coast of Africa and Asia as far as China, but with an intermixture of many different languages. Though there are two universities in Portugal, those of Coimbra and Evora, learning is at a very low ebb: yet the defect lies not in the genius of the people, but in their education. The ancestors of the present Portuguese, about the middle of the sixteenth century, were possessed of more mathematical knowledge than all the rest of the world; and Camoens, who was both a poet and a voyager, would do honour to any country.

Lisbon is the capital of Portugal, and is computed to contain 200,000 inhabitants. It suffered one of the most dreadful visitations of Providence in an earthquake,* on All-saints day 1755, and to this day has not recovered its former splendour; yet it makes a delightful and superb appearance, and, next to London and Amsterdam, is accounted the finest port in Europe. Oporto is the second city in the kingdom: the chief article of its commerce is wine.

The manufactures in Portugal are neither numerous nor important; but its foreign trade is very considerable, especially with England, which, in return for wine and fruits, sends much

* See Appendix.

woollen cloth and other articles, great part of which is again exported to the distant dependencies of this country.

The Portuguese foreign settlements are not only of immense value but vastly improveable. Brazil, the isles of Cape Verd, Madeira, and the Azores, are the principal of these. Goa is their chief remaining establishment in the East Indies, to which they originally paved the way, at a period when they were in the zenith of their glory.

The political constitution of Portugal is an absolute hereditary monarchy ; and states or parliaments, which were anciently in use here as well as in Spain, have long since become obsolete. The royal titles are, " King of Portugal and the Algarves, on this side and the other side of the sea of Africa ; Lord of Guinea, and of the navigation, conquests, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India," &c. The heir apparent to the crown is styled Prince of Brazil ; and by the favour of Pope Benedict XIV. the king has the farther title of " His Most Faithful Majesty."

For the administration of the civil government, there is a council of state ; for military affairs, a council of war ; for the finances, a treasury court ; and for the distribution of justice, several high tribunals with a variety of subordinate courts. The cities have their particular magistrates. The juridical proceedings are regulated by the Roman law, the royal edicts, the canon law, and the papal mandates.

Business is generally transacted in this country in the mornings and evenings, and noon is the time of rest, as is usual in other warm climates.

There are several gradations of nobility, divi-

ded into the high and low. The high nobility have the title of dons, and are addressed by the king himself with the epithet of illustrious: the inferior nobility or gentry are termed hidalgos, but cannot assume the title of don without licence from the king.

The revenues of the crown are calculated to amount to upwards of 300,000l. sterling, which is a vast sum to be raised from such a small country. Certain it is, that the imposts and taxes run excessively high, and the diamonds and gold of Brazil, together with various other sources of revenue, produce considerable sums. The suppression of the Jesuits and other religious orders and institutions has likewise tended to increase the royal income.

The Portuguese military and naval forces are far from being adequate to the defence of the country. Indeed, for a great length of time, they have depended chiefly for protection on England, which, from different commercial and political connections, is deeply interested in supporting the independence and integrity of this country, for which it has made many important sacrifices.

There are several orders of knighthood in Portugal; the principal are the order of Christ; the order of St. James; the order of Avis; and the order of St. John. Contrasted with their neighbours the Spaniards, the Portuguese are considered as inferior both in person and genius. They are said to be extremely haughty, treacherous, and crafty; addicted to avarice; vindictive, malicious, and cruel. The lower orders have a strong propensity to pilfering; yet it must be allowed that, as a nation, they have on

many occasions displayed the greatest generosity, and most undaunted bravery.

The women have black sparkling eyes, and olive complexions, which they improve by art. In conversation they are lively and witty, and are said to have a nice sense of honour. When they go abroad on foot, they use long veils which cover their heads, but leave their faces exposed. Their bloom lasts but a short time, and decay is hastened by the very means they resort to, in order to prolong their charms.

Portugal, though still a kingdom of very limited extent, was originally much smaller. Both Spanish and Portuguese historians agree, that Don Alonzo, king of Castile and Leon, and son to Don Ferdinand the Great, bestowed his daughter Donna Theresa in marriage upon an illustrious stranger, named Don Henry, and gave him as her nuptial portion, the frontier province which he had conquered from the Moors, lying south of the river Minho, with the title of Count. This Don Henry, it appears, was the son of Robert I. duke of Burgundy, and younger brother to Henry I. of France; but there is such a discordancy between the early native writers respecting the time and the occasion of this investiture, that we are obliged to apply to less partial and prejudiced sources, for the information we want.

The facts seem to be as follow. Don Alonzo, justly apprehensive that his success in taking the city of Toledo would draw down on him all the vengeance of the Moors, sent to demand assistance from Philip I. of France, and the duke of Burgundy, whose daughter he had married. Both princes acceded to his request; and a nu-

merous body of troops was speedily collected for his assistance, at the head of whom marched Raymond count of Burgundy, Henry younger brother of Hugh duke of Burgundy, and many others of the best warriors of the age.

A. D. 1087. Arriving at the court of Don Alonzo, they were received with all possible respect; and in the course of two years, having fully evinced their courage and conduct, the king resolved to bestow his only daughter Donna Urraca, then a child, on Raymond count of Burgundy, with the province of Galicia; and not long after, in order to reward Henry of Burgundy, for his able and faithful services, gave him in marriage a natural daughter named Donna Theresa, with full sovereignty over the district already mentioned.

The new count Don Henry and his consort fixed their residence in the town of Guimaraez, supposed to have been built on the site of the ancient city of Araduca, and pleasantly situated on the fertile banks of the river Ave. The remains of an ancient palace in this place still attract the notice both of natives and strangers; and in consequence of Guimaraez having been once the capital, the king Don Denis, granted the inhabitants an exemption from taxes, a privilege which they still enjoy.

With the natural ambition of independent nations, the Portuguese soon turned their views to an enlargement of their dominions; and, as all Christian princes considered victories and conquests over the Moors as doubly meritorious, count Henry is said to have performed many valiant exploits against this people: but the accounts of transactions, at this period and in this quarter,

are so indistinct, that historical fidelity shrinks from the task of recording them.

It appears, however, that count Henry passed a life of great activity, and that having at last raised the siege of Astorga in Leon, he there fell into a grievous distemper, of which he died. His son and successor, Don Alonzo, caused his body to be removed to the cathedral church of Braga, where it was interred with great solemnity, and a splendid monument was four centuries afterwards erected to his memory. He was a generous, wise, and gallant prince, and with his dying breath is said to have left three things in charge to his son: first, that he should be zealous in promoting and protecting the Christian faith; secondly, that he should consider his subjects as his children, and govern them by equal and impartial laws; and, thirdly, that he should attend himself to their execution, lest the rich and the great should be tempted to tyrannize over the weak and the poor, from his indolence or neglect. A. D. 1112.

Don Alonzo was an infant at the time of his father's demise; and, during his minority, his mother, assisted by two able ministers, managed the affairs of government. For the space of nine years, nothing remarkable happened under their administration; but, after that period, some differences arose between the regent and Urraca queen of Castile. Theresa insisted that, in consequence of her father's will, part of Galicia appertained to her of right; and to substantiate her claims, seized upon the episcopal city of Tuy. Urraca resisting her demands, raised a powerful army, and marching at its head, compelled Theresa to retire to one of her own for-

tresses. The effects of this misunderstanding might have proved fatal to the new state, had not the bishop of Compostella, at this critical juncture, demanded leave to retire with his vassals. His assistance was so necessary to Urraca, and she was so much provoked at his tergiversation, that she threw him into prison. This hasty action, which was dictated only by passion, excited a violent commotion among her own subjects; in consequence of which, the Portuguese were relieved from their apprehensions of an attack.

Theresa, however, fell into a similar error by committing to prison the archbishop of Braga, because, with the prudence natural to age and experience, he had been tardy in supporting her pretended rights. The prelate was soon set at liberty by a papal bull; but Donna Theresa at once lost influence and credit by her injudicious conduct towards him.

Not long after this affair, queen Urraca departed this life, and all disputes were amicably adjusted between Theresa and Don Alonzo Raymond, her successor; but, when every dispute which had ever existed between them was supposed to be buried in oblivion, the king of Castile, being obliged to march with the whole strength of his dominions against his father-in-law, the king of Navarre and Arragon, Theresa treacherously re-occupied Tuy; from which, however, she was soon driven with disgrace on the king's return. This was only the prelude to her misfortunes. Her son being now arrived at the age of eighteen, and having received an excellent education, was spurred on by some enemies of his mother's government, to

A. D. 1126.

vindicate his own rights, and convince his people that he was able to defend both them and himself. With the impetuosity of youth, he fell in with the proposal, assumed the sovereign authority, and in general met with a cheerful obedience. His mother's party, however, was very considerable, and they were determined to support her cause with their swords. Lest an accommodation should take place, which would have been fatal to their views, the partisans of the young prince persuaded him to give instant battle to the regent's forces, over whom he gained a signal and complete victory. Theresa, after her defeat, took shelter in the castle of Legonaso, while her principal advisers fled; and Don Alonzo Enriquez her son, investing the fortress, obliged her to surrender, and afterwards imprisoned her for life. Sensible of her violent temper, he appears to have been driven to this extremity by the urgency of his affairs; but he made her confinement easy till the time of her death, which happened in less than two years.

Don Alonzo Enriquez, as he is called by way of distinction, having thus attained the full and free possession of his hereditary dominions, made several unsuccessful attempts on Galicia, to which his mother had instituted pretensions; but at last he was glad to make peace with Alonzo king of Castile and Leon, who had assumed the title of emperor of the Spains. A. D. 1130.

About this time, the Moors taking advantage of the dissensions among their Christian neighbours, invaded Portugal with such immense armies, that, had not a plague broke out in their camp, it would have been impossible to

resist them. To increase the consternation and dismay of the Portuguese, the emperor Don Alonzo, passing the frontiers, carried fire and sword into their territories. The prince of Portugal, however, surprised and cut off a considerable part of the emperor's army; but this would have availed him little, had not the pope's legate interfered, and accommodated all differences between them. A peace was therefore concluded; and all places and prisoners taken on either side, were mutually restored. In gratitude for this service, Don Alonzo offered a voluntary tribute to the holy see.

Meanwhile, the progress of the Christian arms in Spain, having reached the ears of Abu Ali Texefien, supreme governor of the Moors in Barbary, he ordered Ishmael his lieutenant in Spain, to assemble all the forces in the southern provinces, and to drive the Christians beyond the Douro. Ishmael hastened to put these orders in execution, and, having received considerable reinforcements from Barbary, he advanced to the plains of Ourique on the banks of the Tayo, where he was met by Don Alonzo of Portugal. The commander of the infidels used every possible precaution to prevent the Christians from passing that river, because he was willing to secure a favourable position for his cavalry, in which his strength principally consisted, to act in full force. The Portuguese indeed were very inferior in point of numbers; and Ishmael being confident of victory, broke his army into small bodies, and disposed them in such a manner, as might intercept the flight rather than sustain the attack of the Christians. In consequence of this security, the Moors were

overthrown with prodigious slaughter, and a vast number taken prisoners. Among the latter were 1000 Christians of the sect called Mozarabians, whom Don Alonzo was prevailed on to liberate, together with their wives and children, and to allow them settlements in his own dominions.

This glorious victory was achieved on the twenty-fifth day of July; and its anniversary has been celebrated ever since, to preserve the memory of such a signal interposition of Divine Providence, in favour of the Christian arms. A. D. 1139.

It was on the plains of Ourique that Don Alonzo Enriquez, after his illustrious actions, was first hailed king of Portugal by his soldiers. The title he accepted; and so far used it, as to renounce all dependence on the crown of Spain: but he wisely knew how to reconcile monarchical authority with a regard to his people's rights; and therefore was not eager to exercise all the power at once, which had thus been gratuitously conferred upon him.

CHAPTER II.

From the Battle of Ourique to the Reduction of Portugal by Philip King of Spain.

BY the signal defeat of the Moors at the battle of Ourique on the frontiers of Algarve, Don Alonzo had opened a free passage into his own dominions. Such was the slaughter of the infidels that the rivulets in the vicinity of

the field of action are said to have carried their waters deeply stained with blood into the Guadiana.

After these transactions, Raymond count of Barcelona, and regent of Arragon in right of his wife, having proposed to Don Alonzo to enter into a league against the emperor, his jealousy of that potent prince induced him to accede to the plan.

In consequence of these engagements, the king of Portugal entered Galicia with a considerable force on one side, while his ally Raymond did the same on the other. The enterprise was well concerted; but success did not favour them. The Portuguese monarch met with a severe check in this expedition, lost some of the principal of his nobility, and himself received a dangerous wound. To heighten his distress, news was brought him, that the Moors had invaded his dominions in his absence, which determined him to retrace his steps; but with all the speed he could use, the strong fortress of Leyria fell into the hands of the enemy, before he could come to its relief. This they demolished, and with barbaric fury put all the garrison to the sword. The king, however, took care to have it rebuilt in a much stronger form than ever, and placed a powerful garrison there, in case of a second attack.

The war was carried on with various success, for several years; but Alonzo at last projecting an expedition against Santaren, situated about twelve miles from Lisbon, he succeeded in this enterprise; and, in consequence, added a considerable tract of country to his former dominions, at the same time that he secured

A. D. 1145.

them by the strong natural barrier which bounded his conquests.

Encouraged by the fortunate termination of this expedition, Don Alonzo determined to execute without delay a project which he had long indulged. Having assembled the states of his kingdom, consisting of prelates, nobility, and commons, he caused himself with much ceremony to be chosen by the public voice, as he had formerly by the military, king of Portugal; and received the diadem with general acclamation from the archbishop of Braga. In the presence of his people, he renounced all dependence on the crown of Spain, declaring, that if any of his successors should condescend to pay tribute, or to do homage to that crown, he was unworthy of holding the sceptre of Portugal.

Next year, the king pushed on his conquests against the Moors, and with a small army laid siege to Lisbon, then in the hands of the infidels. Various and contradictory are the accounts which the Portuguese historians have left us of the strength of the place at this juncture, and the means which Alonzo possessed to effectuate his design. It is evident, however, that partly from the natural strength of the city, and partly from the numerous garrison by which it was defended, the Portuguese monarch could make little impression on it. At length, however, fortune threw succours in his way which he could not have expected. A fleet of adventurers, consisting of French, English, Germans, and Flemings, in their passage to the Holy Land, happened to cast anchor at the mouth of the Tagus. The assistance of these he demanded as not al-

together foreign to their design of warring with the infidels. Enthusiasm co-operating with opportunity, made them readily fall into his lure; they strained every nerve to evince their zeal and to display their courage, at the outset of their expedition; and by their powerful aid, directed by his own wisdom, he carried the city that has long been the residence of his successors. The crusaders being gratified out of the plunder found in the place, departed well satisfied; and so much reputation did Alonzo acquire by his conquest, that numbers flocked to his standard, and in less than twelve months he reduced many other considerable cities.

A. D. 1147.

For several years after this exploit, the current of fortune flowed uninterruptedly in his favour; and, being in a great measure free from foreign enemies, he settled the internal government of his kingdom, had his regal dignity confirmed by a papal bull of Alexander III. and gradually made himself master of four out of the six provinces that now constitute the kingdom of Portugal.

Immediately after his coronation, he had espoused Matilda, daughter of Amadeus, count of Maurienne and Savoy, a woman of masculine endowments, who assisted him by her counsels, and undertook the conduct of affairs, whenever circumstances required his absence. By her he had a numerous offspring; among the rest three daughters, the eldest of whom, Matilda, was married to the king of Arragon; the second, Urraca, to Ferdinand king of Leon; and the third, Theresa, to Philip earl of Flanders.

Some time after, however, Alonzo of Por-

tugal was involved in a dispute with his son-in-law Ferdinand, and invading his dominions, made himself master of two strong places in Galicia, in which he put garrisons. Elated with this success, next year he invested Badajos with a numerous army, on the news of which Ferdinand hastened to its relief. Its surrender, however, had taken place before he could come in sight of it, which irritated Ferdinand so much, that he determined to besiege his antagonist in his newly acquired conquest.

Don Alonzo perceiving this, endeavoured to frustrate his aims, by drawing out his forces into the open field. Though now upwards of seventy years of age, he mounted his horse with juvenile alacrity, and pushing forward at the head of his troops with too great impetuosity, he struck his leg against one of the bolts of the city gate with such force, that the bone was shattered to pieces. This accident produced inconceivable confusion among the Portuguese, in consequence of which they were ignominiously beaten, and their king taken prisoner.

Alonzo, suffering with pain and mortified with disgrace, was ready to anticipate the worst; but the king of Leon, his son-in-law, evinced a greatness of mind on this occasion that reflects a lustre on his name. Towards his unfortunate father-in-law he behaved with filial respect and affection; conjured him to lay aside all thoughts of business, and attend only to his cure; and, in order to enforce his advice, declared that he wished nothing more than that every thing might be restored to the same state it was in before the war, and that in future their peace

and friendship might be uninterrupted by feuds or disturbed by jealousies.

This generosity sensibly affected the aged monarch, and he readily acquiesced in the proposal; but, impatient under restraint, he set out for his own dominions before his cure was completed, and in consequence was lame for the remainder of his life. This, however, did not abate his military ardour: his courage transported him into the field whenever he was called by his own glory or the interest of his subjects; and, when actively engaged, he seemed to forget the effects of accident or of age.

The pretensions of the king of Leon to receive the homage of his Portuguese majesty for the possession of that kingdom, though they had for some time laid dormant, were not obliterated. Towards the close of Alonzo's life, however, an opportunity seemed to present itself of getting totally rid of this unpleasant claim. A quarrel arose between the king of Leon and his nephew, Don Alonzo king of Castile. The latter craved the assistance of Portugal, which was readily acceded; but Ferdinand receiving intelligence that Don Sancho, the king's eldest son, was advancing towards Ciudad Rodrigo, he assembled his troops with amazing celerity, and, falling upon him unexpectedly, gave him a total defeat. Understanding, however, that Don Sancho though beaten was not humbled, he sent him a message, purporting that the forces he was collecting would be most advantageously employed against the infidels, who remained indifferent spectators of the issue of the war.

This advice was not lost on Don Sancho, who, after making some feints to amuse the enemy, suddenly burst into Andalusia, and penetrated as far as the suburbs of Seville. The Moors assembling their troops endeavoured to cut off his retreat, but Sancho having reached a strong camp, gave his wearied soldiers a little time to repose, and then drew them out, and offered battle. The Moors accepted the challenge, but were entirely defeated; and the prince of Portugal returned into his paternal dominions, laden with plunder.

After these transactions, the fortune of the war presents nothing remarkable on either side for some years; till Joseph, king of Morocco, having transported multitudes of men from Barbary, carried all before him, as far as the Tayo. He next appeared before the city of Santaren; but his men being harassed and worn out with reiterated attacks on the place, were in that state faced by the Portuguese army, assisted by Ferdinand of Leon, when the infidels were entirely defeated, and their king killed in the action. This victory once more delivered the Portuguese from fear of an enemy, and the king improved the pause, by strengthening his frontiers and regulating his internal government. While thus employed, Alonzo departed this life in the 76th year of his age, and left his kingdom to his son Don Sancho I. at that time thirty-one years old. A. D. 1184. A. D. 1185.

Before Sancho ascended the throne, he was of a restless and warlike disposition; but no sooner did he assume the reins of government, than he withdrew his attention from conquest, and employed every energy of his mind in securing,

beautifying, and enriching his kingdom. By strenuously pursuing this plan for a few years, he gave a new aspect to Portugal, and procured himself the glorious title of "The restorer of cities, and father of his country."

A. D. 1189. A fleet of adventurers, chiefly consisting of English, bound for the Holy Land, having entered the river Tagus, Sancho importuned them to assist him in attacking the city of Silves in Algarve. Accordingly, having united forces, the place was easily reduced, and the English, rewarded with plunder, pursued their destination. The Moors, however, having again invaded Portugal, the city several times changed masters; when Sancho, sensible of the difficulty of retaining it, caused it to be demolished. His last enterprise

A. D. 1212. was the reduction of Elvas; soon after which he died, with the reputation of being one of the most patriotic princes that ever swayed the sceptre of Portugal. Though rather liberal than avaricious, he left a vast sum of money in the treasury. He was interred in the cathedral of Coimbra; and after his body had lain 400 years, it was taken up to be placed in a new tomb, and found to have suffered no corruption.

Don Alonzo succeeded his father at the age of 27, and is distinguished in the history of his country by the surname of the Fat. His reign presents but few memorable events. Its commencement was popular, but he was soon embroiled in family feuds, which disturbed the tranquillity of his government, till the thunders of the Vatican brought all parties to an accommodation.

It was not long, however, before the forced

calm was changed by an irruption of the Moors. In order to repel them, he availed himself of a band of crusaders, consisting of Germans and Flemings, as his predecessors had formerly done. The crosses proceeded by sea to block up Alcaçar-do-Sal, while the Portuguese army marched thither, and invested it by land. The Moors strained every nerve to save the place: a furious battle was fought, and the infidels experienced a complete defeat, with the loss of several chiefs. The Portuguese writers unanimously affirm, that the banner of the cross was seen displayed by angels, and ascribe their success to divine interposition. The fortress surrendered, and was bestowed on the order of St. James. A. D. 1217.

No sooner, however, were the Moors driven back than civil dissensions broke out in Portugal, which involved equally the clergy and the laity. The former were dissatisfied that they were taxed in common with the rest of their fellow-subjects by royal authority, and appealed to Rome. The holy see fulminated an excommunication against Alonzo II. and put his kingdom under an interdict. While matters remained in this confusion the king died, in the 12th year of his reign, and was meanly buried in the conventual church of Alcobaça. A. D. 1223.

Sancho II. was only twenty years old at the time of his father's demise. He was a prince of a wild disposition; and, in order to emancipate himself from the distresses which had embittered the last years of his father's life, he proposed a reference of all matters in dispute to the arbitration of ecclesiastics of established character;

and this being accepted, all parties were satisfied, and the interdict taken off.

Domestic peace being thus restored, the king made a tour of his dominions, and regulated many things which had fallen into confusion. He afterwards turned his arms against the Moors, and obtained several advantages over them; but becoming once more embroiled with his clergy, and through this medium with the domineering court of Rome, his kingdom was subjected to a second interdict. Not satisfied with this stretch of power, which in an enlightened age it seems wonderful should ever have been submitted to, the pope proceeded to depose the king of Portugal, and to appoint his brother Don Alonzo regent. The queen was also carried off as a prisoner, and the ill-fated Sancho, after several ineffectual attempts to recover his crown, retired to Toledo, where he spent the remainder of his days in acts of penitence and piety. He deceased in the twenty-fifth year of his reign.

A. D. 1248.

Don Alonzo III. now ascended the throne, as heir to his brother. He was a prince of pregnant abilities, but of insatiable ambition. In the second year of his reign, he besieged and took the city of Faro, then esteemed the capital of the Moorish territories, and carrying Loule by storm, put every person it contained to the sword, and added a considerable tract of land to his dominions.

These successful enterprises rendered him respected by his neighbours, and dreaded by his enemies. Nor was his conduct in civil affairs less firm and judicious: he enacted good laws; he encouraged the good; he restrained the li-

centious; and, in a word, was equally distinguished as a warrior and a statesman.

Tempted by the beauty and fertility of Andalusia, he conceived the design of despoiling the king of Niebla in that province of his small territory; but the Mahometan prince having put himself under the protection of Don Alonzo the Wise, king of Castile and Leon, the latter in quality of ally took the field, and having overrun the kingdom of Algarve, erected Silves into a bishopric. The king of Portugal, aware of his danger, claimed the interposition of the pope, which produced an accommodation, and this was farther cemented by Alonzo of Portugal espousing a natural daughter of Alonzo's the Wise, named Donna Beatrix, with whom he received back the kingdom of Algarve as a marriage portion, reserving a certain homage.

Having a queen, however, though sterile, living at the same time, this match involved his Portuguese majesty in many difficulties. The pope refused a dispensation, and even put the kingdom under an interdict; but his former queen dying, a dispensation at last was granted, and the children by Donna Beatrix were legitimated.

New quarrels, however, broke out between him and his clergy, whose insolence seems to have become intolerable; but by policy and address he surmounted all difficulties, and at last died in peace, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, leaving his dominions entire, and his people prosperous. A. D. 1279.

Don Denis, his son and successor, surnamed the Liberal and Father of his country, was only nineteen years of age when he mounted the

throne. He espoused Donna Isabella, daughter of Pedro king of Arragon, justly reputed the most amiable princess in Spain; and, notwithstanding some disputes between him and his mother and brother, as well as renewed misunderstandings with his clergy, he conducted himself so well, that the general affection of his subjects saved him from all annoyance. Few princes of his age were more learned, and none shewed a warmer patronage to men of erudition. He created an university at Lisbon, and established seminaries of learning in all the principal towns of his dominions. He passed several excellent laws, particularly in regard to ecclesiastical property, which, after supporting the proper ministers of religion, he justly considered as a fund for the poor, of which the church was only the trustees, and therefore discouraged all accumulation of wealth in religious communities.

During this reign, a difference commenced with Castile, which subsisted a long time. Frequent reconciliations took place, but they were neither lasting nor sincere. A double marriage between the two families only seems to have produced new feuds; and to increase the mortification of Denis, his son Don Alonzo had been spurred on by some malecontents to acts nearly bordering on rebellion.

In this dilemma, recourse was had to the see of Rome; but, in spite of every effort on the part of the king to prevent extremities, Alonzo took the field, and though he was defeated and taken prisoner, and afterwards treated with great lenity, this had no effect upon him; for as soon as he could retrieve his affairs, he began to commit the most horrid excesses in the country through

which he passed. Girard, bishop of Evora, remonstrated with him, and threatened him in the name of the pope with spiritual censures, if he did not return to his allegiance; but so far was this from intimidating him, that he barbarously put the prelate to death for his interference. At length queen Isabella interposed, and a reconciliation was effected between the prince and his father; but it was far from being sincere on the part of the former. In short, he appeared incorrigible. When, on a certain occasion, Avezedo, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, was descanting on the prince's want of duty, and the impolicy of ruining a kingdom that would soon be his own, he ordered him to leave his presence on pain of losing his head; "I do not value my head, sir," returned Avezedo, "in the king's service: the only pain I shall feel in losing it, is from the reflection that my master has begotten a son capable of such an action."

The king finding himself approaching his end, immediately sent for his son, who attended the summons with filial regard; and, after receiving much good advice from his father, saw him depart this life, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. No monarch could live more beloved, or die more regretted; and it is a Portuguese proverb to this day, "As generous as king Denis." He kept a great naval and military force, which protected the trade and the property of his subjects from all annoyance. A. D. 1324.

Don Alonzo IV. surnamed the Brave, while heir apparent, had done little to merit praise, but much to deserve blame. He entered, however, on the discharge of his duty with some appear-

ance of vigour, and discarded and even punished many of the advisers and partners of his former crimes. This conduct would have soon rendered him popular, had he persevered in it with firmness and prudence; but, though brave and naturally sensible, he was too much swayed by his caprices, and influenced by his passions. He proscribed his brother Sanchez as a traitor, but was afterwards reconciled to him; he entered into a war with Castile, which for several years entailed misery on both nations; but the Moors taking advantage of the hostilities among the Christians, the latter united their arms against the infidels, and gave them a signal defeat in the battle of Celdano.

A. D. 1340.

The war, however, was carried on for several years with various success. The Moors made a descent on Algarve, which they destroyed with fire and sword, but at length were obliged to retire, and leave the Portuguese dominions in peace.

No sooner, however, was this affair terminated, and the kingdom recovering from the storm, than a new and unexpected hurricane arose, which shook the government to its very foundations. Don Pedro, prince of Portugal, had hitherto conducted himself with exemplary prudence and bravery. He was a good son, and a good husband to Donna Constantia Manuel, by whom he had several children; but happening to fix his affections on Donna Agnes de Castro, the daughter of a Castilian gentleman, who had taken refuge in the court of Portugal, his princess, who it is said perceived it, grew melancholy and died. Pedro, there is reason to hope, had not suffered his passion for

Agnes to exceed the bounds of sentiment, before he found himself at liberty; but now he gave way to all the transports of love, privately married the object of his regard, and in short made it the whole study of his life to please her.

The courtiers, indignant that a stranger and an upstart, as they considered Agnes de Castro, should monopolize the entire affection of their prince, and that she should have such influence in every thing that related to favour or preferment, craftily insinuated to the king, that this intrigue, which at present only vexed the royal family, might eventually prove the ruin of the state.

Urged on by these suggestions, and little suspecting that Agnes de Castro was the lawful wife of his son, the king was at last prevailed on to order her assassination, when the prince was absent on a hunting match. The wretched Donna Agnes was at the monastery of Santa Clara, when the king arrived with the three persons who were to be the executioners of his vengeance. On hearing of his approach, the innocent victim hastened to meet him, accompanied by her children, and, falling at his feet, bathed them with her tears. The spectacle was so affecting, that the king desisted from his design; but his pernicious counsellors reproaching him with want of spirit, he gave them commission to execute the deed of horror. She was butchered in the most barbarous manner, amidst her shrieking babes, and her body left to be meanly buried in the monastery where she breathed her last.

No sooner was the prince informed of this savage action, than in frantic rage he wasted all

the country with fire and sword; and had not the archbishop of Braga interposed, and moderated his fury, by the mild counsels of reason, it is probable that he might have been guilty of horrors still greater than those he was bent to revenge.

A. D. 1355.

Don Alonzo, sensible of his error, studied every means in his power to reconcile the prince to his loss; but, though he disguised his affliction, the wounds of the heart were not to be healed, and on the demise of his father, which happened not long after, the first object of his attention was to honour the remains of Agnes de Castro, and to bring her murderers to condign punishment. They were put to death with exquisite tortures, in the presence of the king himself, who on this occasion, forgetting what was due to humanity, insulted them in their last moments. The affection of Don Pedro, however, had not yet displayed itself as he thought to the full: he caused the children he had by Agnes to be legitimated, and made the most ample provision for every person to whom she had shewn any attachment, or who had performed her any acceptable service.

A. D. 1357.

The next great object that Don Pedro had in view, was to reform whatever was amiss in the administration or government, throughout his dominions. He first began with himself, and retiring to the monastery of Alcobaça, to which he had removed the dust of Agnes de Castro, he contemplated the tomb in which he was to lie, and reflected on the account he was one day to give of his conduct. Thus prepared, he pursued his plan of reformation with steadiness and

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effect; and, blending justice with mercy, regardless of persons or connections, purged his kingdom of malefactors of every kind.

While Pedro of Portugal was thus labouring to deserve the character of a good prince, Pedro of Castile had behaved in such a manner as to be generally hated, and at last was obliged to seek shelter in Portugal. The king, unwilling to involve his subjects in war with the Castilians, refused him an asylum, and sent back his daughter, who was to have been espoused to prince Ferdinand of Portugal; but taking pity on his distress, granted him a safe conduct into Galicia, which had not yet declared against him.

Soon after this, his Portuguese majesty falling into a disease, died at Estremos, in the forty-seventh year of his age. His device was a star, with the words "Monstrat Iter;" indicating, that his thoughts were more fixed on celestial than on temporal objects. His subjects, when they reflected on the regularity he had introduced, which they knew would last no longer than its author, applied to him what the Romans said of Titus, "That it would have been better if Don Pedro had never been born, or that he had never died."

Ferdinand, the only son of the deceased king by his first princess, was twenty-seven years old when he ascended the throne. He was courteous in his manners, very bountiful, and blessed with an easy flow of spirits; but he wanted steadiness and judgment, and levity and caprice were the only dictates of his actions. His court was the resort of all the gay and dissipated, and he soon squandered away the treasures which his three immediate predecessors had been accumulating.

While Henry of Castile, who had dethroned his brother Pedro, could maintain his authority, Ferdinand shewed him every external mark of respect; but when his fortunes sunk, he affected a strict neutrality. No sooner, however, was Pedro dead, than he declared zealously in his favour, by giving the most opprobrious names to his successor Henry, whom he wished to depose, and to claim Castile as his own right, as great grandson to Don Sancho the Brave. He even proceeded to make war upon Henry, but being out-generalled on every occasion, he was glad to conclude a peace with his Castilian majesty, and to promise to cement it, by espousing Donna Leonora his daughter.

This match, however, never took place. He had seen and became enamoured of Donna Leonora de Tellez, wife of a nobleman of one of the most distinguished families in Portugal, and in spite of every obstacle made her his queen.

A. D. 1371. She was a woman of great address, and entirely possessed the affections of the king; but in proportion as his passion for her every day became more visible, the general hatred of his people rose against her. Still, however, she continued to strengthen her interest by every possible artifice, and for a time carried all before her.

On the death of Henry of Castile and the accession of his son Don Juan, a train of negociations took place with the court of Portugal. These, however, terminated in a war between the two powers, in which Ferdinand was assisted by the English, under the command of Edmund earl of Cambridge. At last a peace was concluded between Portugal and Castile at the expence of

their allies; and Ferdinand, with his usual inconsistency, offered the king of Castile, lately become a widower, his daughter the infanta Donna Beatrix, though she had been already contracted to his son. Don Juan acceded to the bargain, and espoused the princess with great pomp, who was then only thirteen years of age.

It is said that Ferdinand, notwithstanding his uxoriousness, was at last convinced of the intrigues of his queen, and even of her infidelity with the count of Ourem, whom he intended to have dispatched; but falling into a lingering disease, he breathed his last, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His subjects lamented his death more than they had honoured him in his life. A. D. 1383.

By treaty, as well as by the king's will, the queen was to be regent, and to this disposition the magistracy of Lisbon seemed to assent. On the other hand, the king of Castile sent ambassadors to demand that his consort Donna Beatrix should be proclaimed queen, for which orders were accordingly given, but they were executed either with indifference or aversion.

Meanwhile, the grand master of Avis, and some other personages of high distinction, indignant at seeing Portugal likely to become a province to Castile, which he thought was likely to be effected by the count of Ourem, a native of that country, and one who had long been the principal favourite of the queen, determined to have this minion taken off. He fell in the very apartment adjoining that of the queen, who, though overwhelmed with grief and indignation for her loss, sent to the grand master to know,

if he meant to murder her too; but he assured her that her majesty had nothing to fear.

This catastrophe being rumoured through the city of Lisbon, and likewise that the grand master was in danger, the whole was bustle and alarm. The people zealously declared themselves in favour of the grand master, who seeing them secure in his interest, meditated to marry queen Leonora, as the most likely means to prolong her power and his own.

The queen rejected the overtures with contempt, and claimed the protection of Don Juan of Castile; on which the commons, without any farther ceremony, proclaimed the grand master protector of the Portuguese nation, and swore never to desert him.

Soon after Don Juan, attended by his queen, the heiress of Portugal, entered Portugal at the head of a powerful army, where he caused himself to be proclaimed king, in right of his wife, and took upon him the exercise of various royal functions. The queen mother was treated with much indifference, and the Portuguese nobles, who at first had sided with the Castilian, were soon disgusted with his distant manners, which they contrasted with those of Don Ferdinand, much to the disadvantage of the former.

Meanwhile, the grand master of Avis, from the time he assumed the title and office of regent, acted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity, bestowing the principal places on men of the most distinguished virtues, and studying to conciliate the good will of all, by the most subtle behaviour and the most refined policy.

Nevertheless, the kingdom of Portugal was not only split into two factions, but it was actu-

ally divided between two rival powers. The regent, however, still kept possession of Lisbon, and Don Juan, sensible of the importance of carrying that place, at last determined to besiege it. With immense preparations he sat down before it: the siege was carried on with vigour, and generally with success, on the part of the Castilians; but a pestilential disorder breaking out in their camp, the devastation it made was so great, that Don Juan was glad to have recourse to negociation. In this too he failed; and after various turns of fortune, was obliged to retire into his own dominions. A crown, however, was too splendid a prize to be given up without a severe contest; and the states of Portugal, perceiving that their country would soon be ruined and depopulated, did they not interfere to put an end to the dissensions which agitated it, after a long and impartial deliberation, agreed to elevate to the throne Don Juan, grand master of Avis, and brother to the deceased king, who had executed the office of regent with the general applause of his party.

By this determination, not only the claims of the king of Castile were set aside, but also those which numbers wished to urge in favour of Don Juan, son of Agnes de Castro. The principal nobility immediately made a tender of their services to the new elected king, and thus an end was put to the interregnum, which had lasted eighteen months, and in its unhappy consequences had deluged the country with blood, and rent the nation into factions.

King John I. of Portugal, as we shall now call him, in order to distinguish him from Don

Juan of Castile, assumed the reins of government with the general good will of his subjects, but under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, from the ruined and agitated state of his kingdom. The king of Castile, so far from acquiescing in the decision of the states of Portugal, made haste to invade that country with an army of thirty thousand men. His resolution was to ruin and destroy all before him, to drive the master of Avis, as he styled him, into Lisbon, and not to depart from that city till it had owned him for its sovereign. In pursuance of this barbarous scheme, several places were taken and sacked, while king John was obliged to remain inactive, on account of the smallness of his army, and to be a tame spectator of the mischief that was done. One reason for this passive conduct was, that he expected succour from England; but being irritated beyond forbearance, he at last ventured an engagement with the forces which he had; and, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, obtained a complete victory. In this decisive action, which took place on the plain of Aljubarota, the Castilians lost ten thousand men; and all their former conquests immediately surrendered. Not satisfied with this, the king of Portugal made an irruption into Castile, where he had the good fortune to defeat the grand master of the order of St. James, who was killed on the spot, and then returned, covered with glory, into his own dominions. This campaign fixed the fate of Portugal, and firmly established John on his throne. The Castilians were glad to accept a truce of three years, which before the expiration of that period was im-

A. D. 1385.

proved into a lasting peace, by the death of Don Juan, who left no issue by his queen Donna Beatrix; and thus every pretext for making war with Portugal ceased.

But though a pacification took place between the two powers, as neighbours and rivals, frequent misunderstandings arose, which sometimes produced a partial warfare, of no great consequence in its events to either. John in a short time became not only the object of fear, but also of respect to his enemies; while the easy freedom of his behaviour and the complacency of his manners endeared him to his own subjects. Having once been a private person, he never forgot those with whom he had formed an early acquaintance: he received and paid visits, without the least form or ceremony; and such was his humility, that after an audience he would attend the party, when retiring, to the door of the apartment.

To the poor he was extremely generous, and to all he was just; but with all his condescension, he knew how to make himself respected, and even dreaded, when occasion required. He suffered neither rank nor fortune to bias him: the reign of the laws he maintained with inflexible zeal; and allowed no claims to preferment, save virtue and ability. He used to say, that conversation, as it was the cheapest, so it was the most improving of all amusements. He had a taste for letters; and he rendered it fashionable among his courtiers, by his own example.

John had married the English princess Philippa, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, who bore him several children. The affection she

entertained for him was so strong, that when he determined to undertake an expedition against the Moors in Barbary, which he was to command in person, she was so concerned at the thoughts of his absence, that she died of grief before his departure. This blow, which he wished to avert when it was too late, affected the king and his whole court most severely; but, in order to fulfil his engagements with other princes, and to dissipate his sorrow, he soon after set out, and landed on the coast of Barbary. Success attended his steps: the city of Ceuta fell almost at the first attack; but scarcely had John withdrawn from that place, before the powers of Barbary formed a league for its recovery. The young princes of Portugal, who were entrusted with the command of an army to repel this aggression, behaved with abundant prudence and valour, and gave the infidels several severe defeats; but so much importance did they attach to the regaining of Ceuta, and John to the keeping of it, that the latter was obliged to strengthen and enlarge the fortifications, and to keep a formidable army on foot, in order to check the advances of the Moors.

A. D. 1414.

Nor was John only fortunate in war, but also superlatively happy in his family. He had several sons whom he had educated with the greatest care, and who repaid his paternal regard to their welfare by the most dutiful conduct and the utmost zeal to serve him. It was his son Henry, duke of Viseo, who commenced those discoveries, which proved in the event so beneficial not only to Portugal but to Europe.

It was he who encouraged the settling and improvement of Madeira, which still forms such a valuable appendage to the Lusitanian crown.

After arriving at a good old age, he felt the symptoms of decline, which, however, he concealed as much as possible; but employed himself like a wise man, in making preparation for what he knew by the laws of nature was inevitable. He married Edward, his heir apparent, to Leonora, daughter of the king of Arragon; next year he gave his daughter Donna Isabella to Philip II. duke of Burgundy; A. D. 1428. and it was at the solemnization of this marriage, that the illustrious order of the Golden Fleece was instituted. The rest of his family he disposed of eligibly; and, sensible of the approach of death, he summoned his children round him, and after giving them the most excellent advice, submitted to fate, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, universally regretted both by his immediate connections and his people. A. D. 1431.

Edward was immediately proclaimed king on his father's death, and received the homage of the princes of the blood and the nobility then at court; but the plague raging at Lisbon, he withdrew to Cintra, where he spent some time, apparently engaged in rural diversions, but planning laws and regulations for the benefit of his subjects.

Eager to signalize his reign, by extending his conquests in Barbary, he undertook an expedition against Tangier; but the event proved very unfortunate. The Portuguese were so hemmed in by the Moors, that they were glad to offer to deliver up Ceuta as a ransom for their

deliverance, and the late king's son Don Ferdinand was left as a hostage for the performance of the treaty. With the greatest cruelty and injustice, however, the prince was abandoned to the mercy of the Moors; for neither the king nor the council would consent to surrender the place. Many preparations indeed were made for recovering the prince by force of arms; but before any thing could be accomplished, the king

A. D. 1438, died of the plague, in the forty-seventh year of his age, after having reigned five years. He is allowed to have been a prudent, religious, and learned prince. He spoke Latin fluently, and wrote it elegantly. By his will he appointed the queen Donna Leonora regent, during the minority of his son. He likewise directed, that all the money he had saved should be paid for the ransom of his brother Ferdinand,* and in case it should not be accepted as an equivalent, that Ceuta should be restored to the Moors.

Notwithstanding this disposition, however, the states thought proper to appoint the infant Don Pedro, duke of Coimbra, regent, till Alonzo V. should come of proper age; and the queen, observing the aversion which they had to be governed by a woman and a Castilian, was obliged to acquiesce in their decision.

The administration of Don Pedro was mild and just, and gave general satisfaction. By the consent of the states, he contracted his daughter to the young king; and soon after, the queen

* This ill-fated prince died, however, in captivity, and his chaplain, who was the companion, wrote also the history, of his imprisonment.

mother, who had been projecting her reinstatement in power, was taken off by the villany of an ambitious minister, though without the knowledge or connivance of the regent, whose sole aim was the public good, and therefore did not stand in need of intrigues to support the station to which he was raised.

Alonzo V. afterwards surnamed the African, for his heroic exploits, at fourteen, when he became major, according to the custom of Portugal, was the finest youth of his age, and had been educated in a manner suitable to his high rank. In the cortes or parliament which had been assembled for that purpose, the regent laid down his office; and humbly craved pardon of all for any error of which he might have been unintentionally guilty. Alonzo, with affability and good sense beyond his years, craved the continued advice of Don Pedro, which was readily accorded, but which laid the foundation of misery and ruin to that able but unfortunate prince.

His enemies, at the head of whom was his brother, envious at seeing him equally the favourite of the king and the people, by the basest and most insidious practices wrought upon Alonzo's mind, to suspect his honour and the purity of his views. He was accused and calumniated in the grossest manner, even in the king's presence: but to which his majesty for a time lent a deaf ear. Don Pedro, however, thinking that retirement from court would pacify his detractors, withdrew; but no sooner did his enemies perceive that they had gained this point, than they renewed their invectives, and reduced him to such extremities, that he was forced to arm in his own

defence. He was now proclaimed a rebel; his adherents were attainted; and he fell himself with many of his friends in an action purely defensive.

Alonzo was soon undeceived; but repentance came too late. That justice, however, which had been denied to the duke of Coimbra while living, was now paid to his memory when dead. The king honoured his remains, and ordered them to be deposited in the same tomb which was destined to receive his own.

The plans of discovery, which the genius and zeal of Don Henry, his uncle, had set on foot, were sedulously pursued by Alonzo, and considerable advantages derived from an acquaintance with the Gold Coast. The Castilians became jealous of this success, and pretended to have a prior right to the discoveries which had produced it; but the infanta Donna Joanna of Portugal having been espoused to Henry IV. king of Castile, the business dropped for the present.

A. D. 1455. Not long after the queen departed this life in the flower of her age, not without strong suspicions of being poisoned by the enemies of her father. The whole nation went into mourning on this occasion, and the king gave an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of his regard, by ever afterwards refraining from any commerce with the sex.

As well to gratify his ambition as to soothe his melancholy, Alonzo now undertook an expedition against the Moors, in which he met with considerable success at the outset; and, after displaying the utmost bravery on a variety of occasions, by dint of perseverance, he at last

obtained possession of Tangier, hitherto deemed impregnable, and which had been a principal object in his long protracted warfare with the infidels.

Alonzo returned laden with glory, and acquired the lofty title of the African. He next determined to support his sister's pretensions to the crown of Castile against Ferdinand and Isabella; but in this he failed, both as a warrior and a politician; and at last a peace was concluded between the two powers. A. D. 1475.

Donna Joanna, his sister, for whom he had contended with such ill success, took the veil, and Alonzo himself was inclined to leave his son Don John the throne, and retire to a convent. Arriving at Cintra, however, he was seized with the plague, which at that time was desolating his dominions, and fell a martyr to it, in the forty-ninth year of his age. A. D. 1481.

As he lived universally beloved, so his death was deeply lamented by his people, notwithstanding the high promise which his successor John II. had already given of being an able and upright prince. At this time he was twenty-seven years old, and he began his reign with shewing his filial regard, by ordering a splendid funeral for his father, and executing his will with the utmost exactness.

A person, with whom he had been very intimate in his youth, presenting him a written promise of being made a count when he should arrive at the sovereignty, John, gravely looking on the paper, tore it, and said, "I shall forget there was such a paper." "Such," added he, "as cor-

rupt the minds of young princes, and by becoming the instruments of their pleasure, extract from them promises that ought not to be performed, may think themselves happy if they escape punishment."

Soon after his accession, he called an assembly of the states, in which he received the homage of the principal nobility and magistrates. He caused many excellent laws to be enacted, and sent commissioners to see them carried into execution. He rewarded liberally, he punished severely, and reprimanded sharply. In his endeavours to check the domineering power of his nobles, he met with much resistance; but, unawed by their combinations, he caused the duke of Bragança, the husband of the queen's sister, to be beheaded; because, in violation of his allegiance, he had put himself under the protection of the kings of Castile and Arragon. His liege sovereign had, however, previously given warning; but this being disregarded, John was not of a disposition to hesitate between expedients. The example of this punishment operated as a terror to others, though it did not prevent secret cabals. The young duke of Viseu, the queen's brother, put himself at the head of a conspiracy. Apprised of his treason, the king sent for him, and asked, "What would you do to a man who wished to take away your life?" Viseu replied, "I would endeavour to be beforehand with him, by killing him if I could." "Die then by your own sentence," said the king, and immediately plunged a dagger into his breast. When he fell, John, with ironical severity, bade him hasten to the duke of

Bragança, and tell him the issue of his contrivances, and the fate of his fellow traitors. A prodigious tumult followed this affair; but the king avowed the reasons of his conduct, and executed exemplary punishment on all the accomplices in this plot. Some were strangled, and others thrown into cisterns, where their bodies became the prey of vermine.

This wholesome severity, which could only be justified from the high provocation that excited it, quieted the turbulent nobles; and the future reign of John was blessed with domestic peace.

Historians have preserved many actions and expressions of this monarch which deserve to be perpetuated. One of his judges, a man of talents, but inaccessible without a bribe, was reprimanded in the following terms: "Take care; I know that you keep your hands open, and your doors shut." The kingdom of Congo,* on the coast of Africa, having been discovered in his time, some navigators complained to him that the inhabitants would not acquaint them with the situation of their mines. With great wisdom and justice John replied: "Do not inquire, treat them kindly; trade with them according to the rules of equity; carry them such things as they are fond of, and you will have the produce of their mines, without the labour of digging."

This prince was well acquainted with the im-

* The Portuguese discoveries were rather the effect of gradual advances and persevering industry than of one bold and concerted plan. The doubling the Cape of Good Hope by Di Gama alone displays a daring and original mind.

portance of a person of his rank being exact in the observance of usages. Some of his most confidential friends one day represented to him, that a certain formality to which he had subjected himself, was a mere trifle. "Call it not a trifle," said he; "my example is always of consequence."

In regard to Castile, he acted with consummate prudence, and brought about a marriage between the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and his son, the prince of Portugal. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp in the city of Evora; but it was not long before the rejoicings which took place on this occasion, were converted to the deepest mourning. In riding a race with juvenile impetuosity, the prince's horse fell, and bruised him so dreadfully, that he lived only till next day, when he expired in great agony. This melancholy accident happened in the sight of his parents and consort, and threw the whole court into the extremes of melancholy. The king actually shut himself up for a time; but a natural son of his, named George, being introduced to him by the advice of his physicians, to amuse his dejection, he soon conceived such a strong affection for him, that he wished, as he had no legitimate heir, to leave him his crown. This the states steadily opposed; and, at last, he was obliged to nominate the duke of Beja, who was, in fact, the nearest legal heir, and who afterwards reigned, under the name of Emanuel.

A. D. 1490.

The king falling into an incurable disorder, supposed to be the effects of slow poison, and finding his dissolution approaching, employed

all his remaining strength in arranging the affairs of his kingdom. When urged by the ambassador of Ferdinand to join the league with Italy, in which so many princes were engaged, he said, "I am as ambitious as any of them, but my ambition is of another kind: I wish to be a great king, but the only way to become so, in my opinion, is to make my people a great nation. For this reason, in the vigour of my life, I never entered into any of these alliances, and I shall not do it in my decline."

With these patriotic sentiments he expired, in the fortieth year of his age, admired and adored by the common people, and respected by the nobles. In his reign, Columbus had discovered a new continent, and he died when Vasquez di Gama was on the point of sailing on the voyage which opened a passage to the east. A. D. 1495.

Don Emanuel was twenty-six years old when he came to the crown: he was agreeable in person, courteous in his behaviour, and universally beloved for his generosity, even when in a private condition. He has been called FORTUNATE for three reasons, and justly so. He attained to the throne, though a remote branch of the royal family, being only great-grandson of Alphonzo V.; he succeeded in almost every thing he undertook, or if he failed, such a high opinion was entertained of his abilities, that no blame was imputed to him: a third happiness, and the greatest of all, his predecessor had humbled the nobility, but Emanuel found them sufficiently tractable to be enabled to restore them to their former consequence.

The mildness of his disposition and the gene-

rosity of his character induced him to protect the Jews, whom his subjects ill-treated; but the Portuguese, no longer able to oppress these unfortunate people, now required, with a tone of some authority, that they should be expelled. This was the only occasion on which Emanuel experienced the opposition of his subjects, in an affair contrary to his feelings and his better judgment.

A. D. 1497. In the second year of his reign, Di Gama discovered the passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. The enterprising spirit of the Portuguese, first roused into action by prince Henry, as already noticed, had prompted them to undertake numerous voyages along the coast of Africa; and, though they seem to have been slow and timid in their operations, they gradually became emboldened by success, and stretched far beyond the boundary of ancient navigation in that quarter. When they found within the torrid zone, which had long been supposed uninhabitable, fertile countries and populous nations, they conceived the idea, that by pursuing the trendings of the coast they should eventually reach India.

Full of this grand project, Di Gama, an officer of rank and abilities equal to the vast undertaking, sailed from the Tagus with a small squadron. Unacquainted with the proper season and route of navigation in that immense ocean through which he had to steer his course, his voyage was long and dangerous. At length, however, he was fortunate enough to double that cape, which had proved the *ne plus ultra* of his countrymen's attempts, the constant object

of their terror and their hope. From thence he proceeded along the south-east coast of Africa, till he arrived at Melinda, where he had the satisfaction to find a people far advanced in civilization, and engaged in active commerce with remote countries of Asia. Conducted by their pilots, he sailed across the Indian ocean, and landed at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, May 22, 1498, exactly ten months and two days after his departure from the port of Lisbon.

Di Gama conducted himself with amazing prudence and resolution in his intercourse with the natives, and, lading his ships with many rich productions of the east, returned to Portugal, where he was received with every testimony of gratitude and respect by the king and the nation.

On the first intelligence of Di Gama's successful voyage, the Venetians, who had hitherto monopolized the trade of the east, with the quick-sighted discernment of merchants, foresaw the ruin of their commerce, without the possibility of either preventing or retarding the expected crisis.

The Portuguese, on the other hand, were elated with their good fortune, and entered on the new career that was opened to their activity, with a vigour, commercial and military, beyond what might have been expected from their narrow limits and resources. Emanuel, however, was intelligent and bold; he was capable of forming plans of the greatest magnitude with calm systematic wisdom, and of executing them with unremitting perseverance. He selected the most able officers to carry his pre-concerted

measures into effect; and, in little more than twenty years from the first discovery of the Indies, the Portuguese had made extensive settlements along the coast, and in a great measure diverted the oriental trade from its long accustomed channel.

Not satisfied with this ascendant, which they had acquired in India by their good fortune and address, they early formed a scheme, more politic than liberal, of excluding all other nations from a participation in the advantages of a commerce with the east, and they partially accomplished what their ambition had planned.

In consequence of this, the rankings of jealousy and envy, which the Venetians had naturally indulged, now broke out into overt acts. By their instigation, the sultan of the Mamelucks fitted out a powerful fleet in the Red Sea, with a design of attacking the Portuguese, and recovering those advantages of which they had deprived him as well as his allies. The Lusitanians, however, met this formidable squadron with undaunted courage, and totally defeated it. After this, they continued their progress without interruption, and established a commercial empire, which till that time had no parallel in the history of nations. Emanuel, who laid the foundation of this mighty fabric, had the felicity to see it almost completed; and, besides this splendid appendage of his crown, he added the important province of Brazil to his dominions.

The Portuguese monarch, indeed, was too wise to engage in any enterprise that did not promise interest as well as glory. He lived on good terms with his neighbours, and confined

his wars to the coast of Africa; for his conquests, both in the east and the west, scarcely deserved the appellation of military affairs. No king ever displayed more magnificence; and, from the discoveries he had made, and the consequent influx of wealth into his dominions, few were better able to indulge in expensive parade. Foreigners were struck with the splendour of his embassies; and magnificent colleges, churches, palaces, and hospitals, which were daily rising throughout his kingdom, attested to his people the liberal spirit of their sovereign, and the happiness of his government.

Under this reign, however, the plague made its appearance, as it had done frequently before; yet famine never approached the coasts of Portugal, though it wasted the strength of Africa, to which the compassionate Emanuel stretched out the hand of assistance.

After having achieved such great things, and arrived at the summit of human glory, the king of Portugal, smit with the mania of the times, had formed a design of abdicating the throne, and retiring to a convent. Observing, however, that his son was likely to tarnish the honour he had acquired by a premature elevation to sovereign power, he changed his design, and dedicated his time as before to the service of his country, though he never appeared so happy, or in such an amiable point of view, as when surrounded by his family, with whom he spent his leisure in the sweetest endearments of domestic society.

Such was the exalted character of Emanuel, that some will not allow he had any faults, but only virtues carried to excess; and from an impar-

tial estimate of his conduct, it must be confessed, that few greater or better men have appeared on the stage of life. Attached to the liberal arts, he shewed the greatest deference to learned men while alive, and mourned their loss with unaffected sorrow. In many of the sciences he excelled, and in all the little arts that embellish life, and render us happy and beloved, he had no equals. The last and the most glorious trait in his character, which we shall mention, is the compliment that has been paid him of banishing poverty and distress from his dominions.

A. D. 1522. An epidemic fever, which terminated in a mortal disease, carried off this patriot king at the age of fifty-three, at a time when his subjects were congratulating themselves, from a consideration of his uniform temperance and the soundness of his constitution, that his reign was likely to be protracted to the utmost limits of human duration.

His son and successor John III. inherited many of the noble qualities of his father, and particularly his discernment in the choice of ministers. One of them, named Don Antonio, from the subsequent anecdote which is recorded of him, seems to have deserved his confidence. The lord of Azambuja, descended from one of the oldest families in Portugal, by the derangement of his affairs, in consequence of his expences in the king's service, was reduced to the necessity of offering his lands for sale. "They lie adjacent to you," said the king to Antonio; "you will do well to purchase them." "Your majesty," replied the minister, "will do better if you enable the proprietor to keep them; for

he and his ancestors have been ruined only by the services which they have rendered to the crown." John listened to this monition, and, by a generous action, prevented the fall of an illustrious family.

If this prince, however, who certainly was not deficient in judgment or goodness, did not establish the inquisition, he at least suffered it to assume a power under which the Portuguese have long groaned. No doubt, he imagined that he was taking the most effectual means to reform the morals of his people, by purifying Christianity among them; but, in fact, he made only hypocrites, who are unquestionably worse than heretics or even infidels. The latter, it is to be hoped, may some time or other open their eyes to the conviction of immutable and divine truth; but the former are without principle, and therefore incapable of reformation.

During the reign of John III. Solyman the Magnificent, the most enlightened monarch of the Ottoman race, jealous of the rising power and opulence of the Portuguese in the east, and eager to supplant them, ordered the bashaw of Egypt to employ his whole force against the Christians in that quarter. Accordingly, the bashaw sailed down the Red Sea with an immense armament; but so well were the Portuguese prepared for his reception, that he experienced nothing, except defeat and disgrace. In Africa, likewise, the king of Fez was baffled before the town of Safi; and the infidels quarrelling one with another, furnished a plausible opportunity for attacking them in all directions; but John wisely satisfied himself with securing what he had already gained on that continent,

and with repelling aggression, when any one was weak enough to contend with him.

At home he strenuously exerted himself in reconciling differences among his nobility, and establishing wholesome regulations respecting precedency, some of which subsist at this day. He had, indeed, formed several great designs, which were almost ripe for execution, when he was suddenly called from a temporal to an eternal state. He had previously the misery to behold the scythe of death extended over his family, and mowing down, without distinction, both old and young of both sexes. He left only one son, Sebastian III. an infant about three years of age.

A. D. 1557.

The regency, during the minority of this child, was committed to the hands of his grandmother, who behaved with great prudence and circumspection; but the Moors, supposing that they might easily dispossess the Portuguese of their African possessions under a female government, took the field with an army of 80,000 men: the queen regent sent, however, such speedy succours, and promised such ample rewards to those who distinguished themselves, that the enemy were obliged to abandon the enterprise. This success for a time supported her authority; but, finding the people generally disaffected to her as a woman and a Castilian, she voluntarily surrendered her power into the hands of cardinal Don Henry, the young king's uncle. By him Don Alexius de Meneses was appointed governor, and Gonsales de Gomera, with two other priests, preceptors to Sebastian. These inculcated principles which totally destroyed the hopes which it was their duty to have realized.

His governor was continually impressing on his tender mind, that courage was the chief virtue of a king, and that danger was to be despised where glory was the object in view. The priests, on the other hand, instead of instructing him in true religion, only inspired him with an abhorrence of heretics and infidels; and, in consequence of this preposterous plan of instruction, he became rash, inconsiderate, and obstinate, a bigot, and a fanatic; all which odious qualities united, eventually involved both himself and his kingdom in ruin.

No sooner was he emancipated from the trammels of education, than he was inflamed with a desire of giving proofs of his intrepidity, and of his implacable hatred to Mahometanism. It was this fatal enthusiasm which hurried him into an ill-concerted expedition against the Moors on the coast of Africa, notwithstanding the entreaties of his most prudent counsellors, and the remonstrances of several foreign princes, who kindly interested themselves in his welfare.

Sebastian was deaf to the voice of reason and the expostulations of friendship. The queen died of grief on account of her grandson's obstinate impetuosity; and Don Henry, to whose misconduct in his education this madness had been wholly owing, retired in despair to his see. The nobility, whose talents had been matured by age and experience, declined to attend in council, lest they should seem to sanction by their presence a crisis which they could not avert. His very ambassadors wrote to him in the name of the princes at whose courts they resided, but nothing could dissuade him from his projected

enterprise. The duke of Mascaregnas, who had reaped so many laurels in India, added all the weight of his high character to dutiful entreaties to desist; but, instead of listening to his suggestions, Sebastian, joining derision to insult, called a council of physicians, who, in order to gratify their sovereign's folly, were induced to declare, in consequence of the prudent advice of Mascaregnas, that courage naturally diminished with increase of years, and that it was nothing unusual to see a man who had in the vigour of his age signalized his bravery become timid and irresolute towards the close of his days.

Even the king of Fez himself, against whom Sebastian directed his arms, made representations which displayed rather compassion for a giddy youth, about to throw himself down a precipice, than either fear or policy. As the pretence assumed by the king of Portugal for commencing war was the restoration of Muly Mahomet to the throne of Morocco and Fez, from which he had been driven by his uncle Muley Moluh, the latter wrote to him in respectful terms, and produced incontestable evidence to prove, that his nephew was a most degraded character, a cruel tyrant, and in every respect unworthy the favour or assistance of a good man. The African farther entreated his Catholic majesty, with whom he lived on friendly terms, to second his remonstrances; and, in order to render them more efficacious, he offered to augment the territory round the Portuguese fortresses in Africa with ten thousand acres of land: "Not," added he, with a suit-

able magnanimity, "that I dread the issue of the contest, but because I am anxious to prevent the useless effusion of human blood."

On the 24th of June, in the year 1577, Sebastian set sail from the port of Lisbon with a fleet of fifty ships and five gallies, and transports and tenders, making nearly one thousand sail. He had twelve pieces of cannon, and about fifteen thousand men, composed of natives, and various foreign adventurers,* who were allured to join his standard by the hopes of plunder and dissipation.

Against this motley group, Moluh, an aged warrior, advanced with an army of one hundred thousand men. The experience of the African soon convinced him, on the landing of the Portuguese, from the unskilful manœuvres of their chiefs, that he had little to dread from soldiers, however brave, that were so badly officered. His principal concern was, lest the ebbing tide of life should not allow him time to beat them; for, at this important crisis, he felt the attacks of a mortal fever, and knew his destiny was sealed. When the two armies, however, came in sight of each other, near Alcazarquiver, Moluh, though unable to sit on horseback, gave orders from his litter with the spirit and prudence of a veteran commander; and no sooner were both sides drawn up in battle array, and ready to engage, than he caused himself to be placed on horseback, that he might have an opportunity of observing whe-

* Among the rest were seven hundred Italians, commanded by an English exile, named Sir Thomas Stukeley, whose life was a tissue of romantic exploits.

ther his dispositions were duly executed. Satisfied as to this point, he returned to his litter, and gave the signal to engage.

On the first attack, the Portuguese infantry gained some little advantage, on which Moluh, for a moment forgetting his extreme debility, threw himself from his litter, mounted a horse, and was rushing to the charge sword in hand. His guards checked his impetuosity, but this last effort so exhausted the small remains of his strength, that he sunk down in their arms. He was carried back to his litter, and, placing his finger before his mouth, as a signal that he recommended silence, in that attitude he expired.

To keep up the deception in the eyes of the Moorish troops, a renegado, named Hamet Taba, who remained by the litter, occasionally drew the curtains a little aside, as if to receive orders, while Muley Hamet, the brother of the deceased monarch, commanded in his room, and gained a complete victory. The whole Portuguese army, except about fifty men, were either killed or taken prisoners.

The fate of Sebastian is variously related. It seems he was wounded with a bullet in the shoulder, but as the wound was not dangerous, he continued to combat, and had two horses killed under him. The flower of his nobility fell by his side in the action; and respecting himself, we select from the contradictory mass of accounts what appear most probable, or have had most supporters.

The first states, that the Moors surrounded him, deprived him of his sword and his arms, and having secured his person, a quarrel arose among his captors, on which one of their generals,

riding in among them, exclaimed, "What, ye dogs; when God has given you so glorious a victory, would you cut one another's throats about a prisoner?" at the same time aiming a blow at Sebastian, he brought him to the ground, while the rest dispatched him. In conformity to this relation, it is further said that Muley Hamet sent next day to the spot where this scene had passed, when one of the king's valets discovered his master's body among the slain, and that others recognized it also by very probable marks; for it is allowed that his visage was too much disfigured to admit of certain proofs. This body, however, was delivered up, and, being conveyed to the monastery of Belem, was interred among the princes of Portugal with all possible solemnity.

The other most likely account is that of Louis Brito, a Portuguese nobleman, who, retiring from the scene of carnage with his colours wrapped round his body, was met by the king, who called out, "Hold fast your colours, and let us die upon them." The prince immediately rushed among the Moors, and was taken. Brito delivered him, but in the event was himself seized, together with the colours. While they were carrying him away, he observed Sebastian, who was not pursued. Don Louis de Lima deposed, likewise, that he met his majesty advancing towards the river, and this was the last time that he saw him.

These circumstances deserve to be recorded, because, about twenty years after this fatal day, a person appeared at Venice, who gave himself out to be Don Sebastian, and offered a very plausible account at least for his re-appearance.

He said, that after the battle he dragged himself from below the dead with which he was covered, and after wandering about some time in Africa, he returned to Portugal, and even entered his own palace, where shame prevented him from making himself known. Certain it is, this person had the gait, stature, gestures, and voice of Don Sebastian; and, in confirmation of his identity, he shewed the scars of his wounds, and particularly those in his shoulder and over his eye.

Several of the Portuguese recognized and acknowledged him. The commissioners too, whom the senate of Venice had appointed to interrogate him, were much astonished to hear him give an account of some secret negociations with that republic.* Struck with his manly confidence, the invariable firmness of his answers, his modesty, his piety, and the fortitude with which he bore his sad misfortunes, they durst not declare him an impostor. The Spanish ambassador, however, insisted that he should be expelled from the state of Venice, and the senate, though well inclined to grant him an asylum, did not venture to refuse.

After this, the real or pretended Sebastian retired to Florence, where he was arrested by order of the grand duke of Tuscany, and delivered up to count de Lemos, viceroy of Naples, for the king of Spain, who at that time was in possession of the throne of Portugal.

* Though inclined to believe that this man was no impostor, is it not possible that the rival Venetians might have set him up to confound the Portuguese, and furnished him with information that would give a verisimilitude to his relation?

When the prisoner appeared before the viceroy, being asked who he was, he replied, "You certainly ought to know me, as you was twice charged with embassies to my court." He then entered into the detail of some secret circumstances that could have been known only to the prince who then sat on the throne. He even astonished two princesses, related to Don Sebastian, by the closeness of his replies to some questions which curiosity prompted them to propose to him.

For a time he was mildly treated, though retained a prisoner; but, after the death of the count de Lemos, he was put to the torture in order to force a retraction of his declarations. This he steadily refused to make, in spite of all that ingenious cruelty could inflict. It was next tried to make him contemptible in the eyes of that public which either favoured or pitied him. He was paraded about the streets of Naples on an ass, preceded by a public crier, who announced him as the impostor that called himself Don Sebastian, king of Portugal; to which he constantly replied, "I am Sebastian;" and when the crier added that he was a Calabrian, he exclaimed in a louder tone, "That is false."

After this ignominious ceremony he was detained a prisoner some time longer in the kingdom of Naples, and was then removed to Castile, where he was never heard of more.

Unable to account for his knowledge of many circumstances relative to Portugal, and unwilling to allow that he was the identical Don Sebastian, the Spaniards gravely pretended that he was a magician, and that the devil suggested to him those illusions which were cal-

culated to make an impression on credulous minds. It must, however, be allowed, that, supposing him in reality to have been an impostor, they ought to have convicted him by the clearest evidence, in order to justify their treatment of him, and to undeceive the world.

In Portugal, Don Sebastian was considered and believed to be really dead; and in consequence, the cardinal Henry, his uncle, assumed the reins of government, at the advanced age of seventy. His situation was irksome in the extreme. All the young nobility were cut off, or carried into slavery, and the kingdom was exhausted of men, money, and reputation. The first wish of the nation was, that the king should marry, in order that he might leave heirs, and prevent a civil war, with which the kingdom was menaced, in case of the failure of the direct royal line. A dispensation having been proposed for the old cardinal, both as a priest and a bishop, the consistory of Rome debated on the subject, but political reasons induced them to suspend their decision.

A. D. 1578.

From the moment, indeed, that Henry ascended the throne, he heard of nothing else but successors. Three competitors instituted claims to the throne of Portugal, whenever it should become vacant; the prince of Parma, the dutchess of Bragança, and Philip II. of Spain. The two last had nearly an equal right. Henry was extremely partial to the duchess of Bragança, but dreaded the power of Spain; and, thus wavering between his inclinations and his fears, he died without declaring a successor. He lived sixty-eight years, and reigned

amidst incessant vexation and chagrin about seventeen months. He was the nineteenth sovereign, and the seventeenth king of Portugal, the eighth and last of his house; for in him terminated the male line of the Portuguese princes, after having subsisted upwards of four hundred and sixty years.

Henry was little esteemed, notwithstanding he possessed many good qualities, and he would have left the world without the regret of his people, had they not reflected on the storms to which they were about to be exposed. In order to allay them in some measure, Henry had named five governors, in whose hands the sovereign power was to be deposited after his death, till a successor should be legally appointed. The grand affair relative to the succession was to be debated in their presence; but, in fact, the business had been settled before the king made his exit. Of the five governors or regents, a majority were in the interest of Philip II. of Spain; but, to support his pretensions, he had a more decisive voice—an army of twenty thousand men, commanded by the duke of Alba, who had orders to enter Portugal without delay.

That kingdom was far from being in a state capable of opposing an effectual resistance to so formidable a force. The Spaniards, therefore, advanced with order and discipline, no one disputing their progress, except the prince of Crato, the illegitimate nephew of the deceased king, who caused himself to be proclaimed by the populace of Lisbon, to whom he was generally acceptable. His troops, composed of raw men, collected in haste, badly armed and appointed,

were dispersed on the first attack. The prince himself escaped, and wandering about through the kingdom for several months, though a price was set on his head, at last escaped to France.

CHAPTER III.

History of Portugal under the Kings of Spain.

ON the defeat of Don Antonio, prince of Crato, the whole kingdom submitted to Philip of Spain, together with the garrisons in Barbary, the settlements on the western coast of Africa, of Brazil, and in the East Indies. The Madeiras, however, held out for Don Antonio till they were reduced, and the French navy which came to favour their resistance was entirely defeated and destroyed.

As Philip had sufficient policy not to wish to appear a conqueror, he did not enter Portugal till it had made its full submission to his power. At last he arrived at Lisbon, where he was received with sullen pomp without acclamations. It was easy to see that force not choice made him their king; and, sensible of this, he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the people by confirming the advantageous terms which he had previously offered by letters. These conditions were, that he should take a solemn oath to maintain the liberties and immunities of the people; that the states should be assembled within the realm, and nothing proposed in any other council, relative to Portugal;

that the viceroy should be a native, unless the king should delegate that charge to one of the royal family; that the household should be kept on its ancient footing; that the post of first president, and of all offices, civil, military, and judicial, should be filled with Portuguese; that all dignities in the church and orders of knighthood should be confined to the same; that the commerce of Ethiopia, Africa, and the Indies, should be carried on by their merchants and vessels alone; that all duties on the frontiers should be annulled; and lastly, that Philip should advance 300,000 ducats to redeem prisoners, repair cities, and relieve the miseries, which pestilence and other calamities had brought on the nation.

These, with other collateral conditions of similar import, formerly offered, and rejected by the Portuguese, Philip now confirmed in person: but when the duke of Ossuna proposed, that in case of his violating the compact, the states should be freed from their allegiance, and might defend their rights by the sword, without incurring the crime of treason or perjury, he absolutely refused to ratify the clause; which in a manner impeached his sincerity in what he had done, and vitiated all his professions.

All these concessions, however, with the most lavish distribution of honours and employments, failed to reconcile the Portuguese to a foreign master. This profuse conduct on the part of the sovereign had also an effect which was not immediately foreseen: it weakened the power, and absorbed the revenues of the crown; and by putting it out of the power of his successors to shew equal liberality, it excited only a short-

lived gratitude in a few, and made a number of malecontents, to which time was continually adding.

Thus Philip, with every appearance of a refined policy and of an anxious desire to please, found his new subjects still more and more disgusted with his government; particularly when they perceived that the partizans of Don Antonio were treated with a degree of rigour, which the forlorn state of his fortunes could not either justify or require. The exiled prince, however, still retained and used the title of king of Portugal; and, after conciliating the good will of France, to which he had retired, with a fleet of 60 sail and a considerable body of troops furnished by that crown, he made an attempt on the Terceras. The Spaniards, however, repulsed him with great loss, and inflicted exemplary punishment on the Portuguese prisoners found in his service.

Nevertheless Don Antonio retained possession of a few places, coined money, and exercised other acts of regal power; but his affairs becoming more and more desperate, with some difficulty he made a second escape into France. From thence he passed over into England, where he was well received; and as Elizabeth was equally hostile to the Spaniards, many privateers were covertly fitted out against them, under the commission of Antonio. After Philip, however, had weakened his power by the equipment of the armada, and lessened his credit by seeing it totally defeated, the queen of England openly espoused the cause of Don Antonio, as much with a view of avenging herself as of serving him; and Sir John Norris and Sir Francis

Drake were sent with a powerful squadron and army to attempt seating him on the throne of Portugal.

It was on this occasion that he agreed to borrow 200,000 ducats of Muley Hamet, king of Fez and Morocco, for the repayment of which he delivered up his son Don Christopher as an hostage. But Philip, aware of the correspondence between them, by a deep stroke of policy surrendered Arzila to the Moors, in order to put an end to the negociation; and disputes arising between Norris and Drake, in consequence of an ill-concerted attack upon Corunna, the expedition, which had been undertaken with such favourable omens, terminated in nothing.

Antonio returned to England with the fleet, which imported the plague, the only memorable circumstance attending the expedition; but finding himself little regarded, he withdrew once more into France, where he fell into great poverty and distress. At length, after various vicissitudes of fortune, he departed this life in the 64th year of his age, and was buried in the church of the nuns of Ave Maria. He left several children behind him; but having taken the vows of celibacy and chastity before their birth, they were regarded as illegitimate. To the last, he maintained a considerable interest in Portugal, and had at different times drawn immense sums of money from that kingdom; all which he squandered away in fruitless negociations, and ineffectual attempts to disturb the Spanish possessions in every part of the globe.

But Don Antonio was not the only person who set up claims to the crown of Portugal. The nation, as much from a detestation of the Spa-

nish yoke as a predilection for its hereditary kings, were continually amusing themselves with the hopes that Don Sebastian would appear, like another Messiah, for their deliverance. So strong was this prepossession, and such a degree of credulity reigned among the populace, that it was proverbially said, they would have taken a negro for Don Sebastian. This humour was sure to be gratified by the ambition of some and the folly of others. Without adverting again to that Sebastian who acted such a remarkable part at Venice, and whose pretensions as well as his ultimate fate are covered with an impenetrable veil, there were several pseudo Sebastians appeared in the heart of Portugal itself, two of whom we shall particularize. One was the son of a tiler at Alcobaza, who, after a short career of profligacy, turned hermit, and from his solitude burst forth as the real Sebastian. This ignorant pretender had two associates in his folly or his villany, for it is doubtful which predominated most, one of whom was styled Don Christopher de Tavora, the other the bishop of Guarda. These began to collect money, and were in a fair way of exciting serious disturbances, had not the cardinal arch-duke caused them to be apprehended, and after exposing the pretended Sebastian with every mark of ignominy, sentenced him to the gallies for life, while his friend, the self-consecrated bishop of Evora, was condemned to be hanged.

The second representative of Don Sebastian was Gonsalo Alvarez, the son of a mason. This man having promised to make the daughter of a rich yeoman his queen, through the influence of his intended father-in-law, raised a banditti of

nearly 1000 men, and some blood was spilt before he was secured. At length, incontestable proofs being brought of the imposture, Alvarez and his principal supporter were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Lisbon.

In short, so unpopular was Philip become in Portugal, that any person who had hardiness enough to attempt disturbing his government, was sure to find some partisans; yet it does not appear that he merited this so much from any regular design of injuring the people, as from an erroneous conduct, and a restless ambition. His immense preparations for the invasion of England, in which he was so completely foiled, impoverished all his European dominions, but on the Portuguese had the most fatal effects. The pretensions of Don Antonio, and the hopes of despoiling their Indian fleets, roused all the energies of the English, from whose power Philip found himself incapable of defending them. Hence loud clamours, sometimes without reason, and generally without remedy. The king, in order to allay those expressions of discontent, borrowed money of the nobility on the security of the customs; and this, though a temporary relief, only increased the evil it was intended to remove. The public revenue thus mortgaged became fixed and hereditary, so that the merchant is oppressed, while the king is not benefited.

This expedient being soon exhausted, a certain per centage was imposed, in the nature of ship money, for the defence of the coasts and the protection of commerce, which for a time was properly applied; but, sanctioned by custom, it grew at last to be considered as part of the

royal revenue, and went into the exchequer without account. This paved the way for the appropriation of other branches of national income, which were generally misapplied; so that during the eighteen years which Philip swayed the sceptre of Portugal, the nation was become visibly impoverished, and yet the exchequer was not filled.

Much, however, as the Portuguese complained of their situation under Philip II. they found his reign the golden age, compared with that of his successors. His son Philip III. of Spain had filled the throne twenty years, before he deigned to visit Portugal. Apprized of his arrival, the inhabitants of Lisbon put themselves to an enormous expence to receive him with splendour, for which they gained little more than the compliment, "that before he entered Lisbon, he had no idea how great a king he was."

On this occasion he held an assembly of the states, in which his son was sworn successor; and thus having accomplished every object he had in view, he returned into Spain with a false conception of the riches of Portugal from the foolish display of magnificence which had attended his sojournment in Lisbon.

On his death-bed he bitterly deplored that he had not acted the part of a good king towards his subjects when it was in his power; and had dying resolutions been worthy of regard, and it had pleased Providence to prolong his days, perhaps he might have deserved the gratitude of his people, and the praise of posterity.

The reign of Philip IV. was a tissue of ill fortune and badly concerted measures: all his dominions suffered severely; but Portugal to

the most excessive degree. The loss of Ormus in the east, of Brazil in the west, together with a series of collateral misfortunes, brought the Portuguese to the lowest ebb. The whole face of the kingdom was covered with the most horrible wretchedness, and poverty and weakness seemed to every penetrating mind to be the engines which the Spaniards were employing to reduce Portugal to an appendant province.

These are only the outlines of transactions during a period of sixty years: to enter into details would only be a history of the successive encroachments made by the Spanish ministers on the fundamental articles of the union; encroachments so flagrant, that one would have imagined they had studied to provoke the wrath of Heaven, and insult the patience of men, instead of availing themselves in an honourable way of the wealth, the power, and the martial spirit of the Lusitanian people.

It was the very basis of all their privileges that the kingdom should remain separate and independent, and in consequence that Lisbon should remain the seat of government and of justice; but this was so little observed, that neither promotion nor right were to be obtained without an expensive and a tedious journey to Madrid. It was stipulated in the original compact, that an assembly of the states should be held frequently; but they were only thrice convened in the space of sixty years. The king was to reside within the realm as long and as often as possible; instead of which the two first Philips who swayed the sceptre of Portugal, made each a short visit to that country once, and the third Philip dispensed with that compliment al-

together. The viceroy was to be a native of Portugal, or a prince or princess of the blood; yet when any of the royal family nominally bore that title, the power was sure to be vested in a Spaniard. The council of Portugal, which, according to the convention, was to be composed wholly of natives, was on the contrary filled with Castilians, as were also the garrisons, in equal violation of the Portuguese rights. The presidents of provinces or corregidors were also to be natives; but this was evaded by keeping those offices in the king's own hands. No city, town, or district was to be alienated to any except Portuguese; yet, in defiance of this, the duke of Lerma received sundry grants of towns and lands. Natives, it was stipulated, were alone eligible to all posts, civil, military, and judicial; but the fact was, all offices were given promiscuously to foreigners, or sold to the highest bidder, not excepting the government of castles, cities, and provinces. In short, such were the abuses that had gradually crept in, that scarcely one article of the original agreement entered into with Philip was observed either in its letter or spirit.

The consequence of this base and ungenerous conduct was, that the Portuguese, who had never been well affected to their Spanish masters, being driven to desperation, were determined to emancipate themselves into liberty. The flame of patriotism, which had only been repressed, but not extinguished, during an oppression of sixty years, began to blaze afresh. Pride and indignation were the fuel that fed it. Yet though the general sentiment was freedom, some particular bond was necessary to unite the discon-

tented nobility. They could indeed read in each other's eyes the secret wishes of the heart; but they were afraid to communicate what all felt to be expedient and just.

In this dilemma, one person of more fortitude than the rest stepped forward, and spoke the public mind in the ears of individuals of the greatest weight and influence. This was John Pinto Ribeiro, steward to the duke of Bragança, a nobleman descended from the royal family of Portugal, and who had an incontestable right to the crown, in case the Spanish tyranny could be overcome. On this account he was very narrowly watched by the faction of Spain; but the prudence and address of Pinto opened a way for a conference of the nobles, most favourable to his design, without endangering or exposing his master, who was either apparently or in reality ignorant of the intended revolution in his favour.

The established character of the duke of Bragança appears to have been excellently adapted to the circumstances in which he was placed. Mild, modest, and devoid of ambition, though he was the constant object of Spanish vigilance, he did nothing that could excite their jealousy. His only crime in their eyes was the title to rights of which they were sensible they had deprived him; and this to usurpers will always be a source of fear and enmity. His moderation, indeed, was so generally known and acknowledged, that the nobility who had leagued together in order to raise him to the throne, were actually in doubts whether in consequence of their most brilliant success, he would sacrifice domestic enjoyments to the splendour of royalty.

Even Pinto, when consulted on this important head, did not venture to give a decisive answer, without a reference to his master. He introduced, therefore, a deputy from the associated nobles, that the duke might satisfy their doubts.

Just at this period, however, Bragança was invited to Madrid under such a shallow pretence of his presence being required at court, that he could not entertain a doubt of a design to detain him as a captive or a hostage. In this dilemma, he consulted the dutchess his spouse, a woman of superior understanding, who made him this reply: "Death awaits you at Madrid, and will, perhaps, reach you at Lisbon; but there you can only expect to die like a miserable prisoner; here you will fall covered with glory, and a king. This is the alternative at the very worst; but let us hope for the best, from the affection of the people, the justice of your cause, and the divine protection."

A deep plot having been formed and matured, and all its ramifications now arranged, the nobility only waited for the duke's consent, to commence their operations. Several of the principal citizens of the capital had also been gained over, or voluntarily came into a measure, in which all indeed who had a spark of patriotism in their breasts would have been eager to engage, had they been trusted with the secret.

To effectuate their designs, some principal manufacturers, who had joined in the scheme, discharged their workmen, under pretence of the stagnation of commerce, in order that misery and famine might render them more ready to assist in bringing about a revolution. The conspirators then assembled at the house of one of

their party: the points of attack were marked out; the different posts assigned; and the whole party proceeded to the execution of their project by different roads, some on foot, some on horseback, and others in litters, that they might escape suspicion of their design. In this manner they assembled round the palace, which was inhabited by the vice-queen and the secretary of state Vasconellos, who possessed unlimited authority, and who used it without the least moderation.

Pinto, seeing his friends around him, about eight in the morning gave the signal agreed on by firing a pistol, upon which they all rushed in by different gates; mowed down the guards on duty; ascended to the apartment of Vasconellos, and having dispatched him, threw his lifeless body from the window. They next proceeded to oblige the vice-queen to sign an order to the governor to surrender the citadel, which of course was complied with. A. D. 1640. Dec. 1.

During this revolution, which was effected in two or three hours, the duke of Bragança remained on the other side of the Tagus, waiting for intelligence of the event, which was to make him a king or a fugitive. On being informed that success had crowned the daring attempts of his friends, he stepped into a small boat, and crossing the river, was received at the landing-place with the most joyful acclamations by an immense concourse of people, who had repaired to the spot from all quarters. By noon of the same day, tranquillity was so well restored that the shops were open, and business resumed its regular course, as if no revolution had taken place; so few real partisans had the Spaniards,

or so sensible were they that the voice of the people was against them. In consequence of this unanimity of sentiment, very little blood was spilt, nor could all the future efforts of the king of Spain shake the power which had thus been established.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Elevation of the House of Braganca to the present time.

JOHN duke of Bragança being thus called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people, was crowned in fifteen days after, with all possible magnificence, and the states being soon assembled, recognized his title, and declared his eldest son Don Theodosius prince of Portugal. This young man possessed the most shining talents, and was equally beloved by his father and the people, but he was cut off by a lingering disease in the twentieth year of his age.

The manners of John underwent no change by his elevation. It only called forth those virtues which in a private station would have remained in obscurity. He has been styled the Fortunate, but he might have been with more propriety surnamed the Good and the Beneficent. No king was ever more tender of the lives or property of his subjects. He supported his royal establishment chiefly out of his private fortune, and was more unwilling to receive the grants of the nation than it was to offer them.

The Spaniards, however, as might naturally be expected, did not relinquish their pretensions to the kingdom of Portugal, as long as there was the smallest prospect of success. John, though his kingdom was almost defenceless by the perfidious precautions which the council of Spain had before employed, resisted the first attacks on his independence. The peasants were alternately soldiers and labourers: one day they fought; the next, perhaps, followed their several vocations. The king with the assistance of some foreign officers exercised and trained them; and, by habituating them to slight skirmishes, taught them to feel confidence in themselves, and at last to win decisive battles. After this, his ambassadors were treated with respect by foreign courts, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the Spanish government; and in a few years he was universally acknowledged king of Portugal, except by the rival court.

The Spaniards, finding that arms were ineffectual, had recourse to the most insidious arts. John frequently found himself surrounded by conspiracies; but fortune and prudence always brought him off safe. Several of these plots, however, were so well laid, that some of John's most confidential ministers were suspected of treason, and paid with their lives the suspicions which had been raised. Their innocence was afterwards clearly established; but the motives of diffidence so constantly and artfully renewed by the emissaries of Spain, kept the king for a long time in the most tormenting state of doubt and anxiety.

The last year of his reign, however, he enjoyed some share of repose, and suffered more

from the afflictive dispensations of Providence than from external enemies. His health had been declining for a long time, but the energy of his mind was unabated, and he continued to hunt as often as the weather would permit. Indeed, at one period he was so fond of this diversion as to become suspected of neglecting more important concerns for its indulgence. As he was one day proceeding to enjoy this amusement, the civil magistrate came up to him, and having made a respectful bow, laid hold of his horse's bridle, and conducted him back to the palace, without opening his lips. John felt the silent remonstrance; and from that hour, he never suffered the pastime of the chase to interfere with the duties of a king.

At last his disorder baffling all the skill of his physicians, they were obliged to confess their want of power to relieve him. He heard their opinion with the same steady calmness which had characterised him through life, and applied himself with much fervency to the service of his Creator. He embraced his children with great tenderness, appointed the queen regent during the minority of his son Alonzo, then only thirteen years of age, and breathed his last with the fortitude of a Christian hero, in his fifty-third year, having reigned nearly sixteen years.

A. D. 1656.

No sooner was the death of John made known in Spain than the court testified an indecent kind of joy, expecting that it would be followed by a dissolution of the existing government. It must be confessed, indeed, that Portugal was in a most perilous situation. The king, Don Alonzo Enriquez, was not only a minor, but reputed of

a weak constitution both of body and mind; the regency was vested in a woman, and that woman a Castilian; the nation was involved in a war, and this respecting the title to the crown itself; the nobility were almost all of them embarked in feuds and contentions with each other; so that the queen scarcely knew whom she was to trust, or how she should be obeyed. Her conduct, however, was vigorous and prudent. By marrying her only daughter, the princess Catharine, to Charles II. of England, she procured the valuable assistance of that country, which enabled her to gain the glorious victory of Montesclaros, that broke the Spanish power, and fixed the fate of the kingdom, though not of its king. A. D. 1665.

Alonzo's education had been neglected, and his intellects besides were poor. He was fond of low company, and it is said that his mother rather encouraged than checked his foibles, in order to exalt her younger son Don Pedro, to whom she was more partial, and who possessed more natural abilities. Those who hoped to profit by exciting a misunderstanding between the young king and his mother, did not fail to point out to Alonzo this unjust preference; and the jealousy excited on this account, kept him at a distance from court. The queen had governed with universal applause during his minority, but attempting to continue her power, she was driven from the direction of affairs by the favourites of the king. On her death-bed she exhorted her sons to concord; but they remained as opposite in sentiments as in person and mind.

Just before the death of the queen-mother,

who certainly possessed masculine endowments as a ruler and a politician, the king had married the princess of Nemours, though a report had been spread that he was impotent. The young queen on her arrival seems to have won the heart of Don Pedro, as he did hers; and this probably led to all the singular events that ensued.

Alonzo was subject to the most furious fits of passion: he was capricious and inconstant; and among those who approached his person he was thought to be insane. His brother Pedro now treated him with every mark of external respect and attention; but secretly endeavoured to win over the citizens of Lisbon, and particularly the clergy, by an affectation of piety and generosity.

The strange conduct of the king, which was a mixture of imbecility and madness, gradually alienated the affections of his courtiers; and the queen and Don Pedro, who seem perfectly to have understood each other, took care to heighten this by every aggravation, under the affected mask of pity and excuse. At last he found himself, through their intrigues, without friends and without counsellors; and to add to his distress, the queen retired to a convent, from whence she sent him a letter full of reproaches for his treatment of her, and of insinuations against his virility, under the delicate expression, "you know I cannot be yours."

By a preconcerted plan a council was immediately assembled, in which it was declared, that it was necessary to the welfare of the state that Alonzo should abdicate the crown, and his brother Pedro supply his place. This resolution was presented to the king, but he refused

to comply, till Pedro, entering the palace, caused his brother to be arrested. A person, suborned for the purpose, endeavoured to persuade him, that if he resigned he would recover his liberty. Having acceded to this, it was next proposed that he should sign a declaration, signifying that his marriage was void. He requested time, however, to confer with the doctors of the church on this subject, which being granted, he complied with this request also. Alonzo was then formally deposed; but, in order to save appearances, his brother Pedro was only declared regent.

Don Pedro was only twenty-one years of age when he assumed this high office, and, on account of his youth, some were inclined to believe that he was not the contriver of the revolution. The queen, indeed, was nearly of the same age, but she was of a nation and sex full of intrigue, and there can be little doubt of her being the moving principle, the very soul of what took place. A. D. 1667.

Alonzo seemed to take little notice of the change in his situation during the day; but, when evening approached, finding himself deserted and alone, he begged his brother to send him John, the whipper-in, by way of company. This humble request, whether dictated by the bitterness of grief, or the delirium of despair, so much affected Don Pedro, that he burst into tears, in commiseration of his brother's unhappy fate, a sensibility which does honour to his heart; but the queen, who was dead to every tender feeling, as far as regarded Alonzo, vouchsafed not a single sigh at the contemplation of his reverses.

In an assembly of the states, the deposition of Alonzo and the regency of Pedro were confirmed. One of the first cares of the latter was to re-establish the police of Lisbon, which Alonso's own example had tended to destroy. To such a pitch of folly or madness had he arrived, that he used to run through the streets in the night, and strike every person he met. He is even accused of having wounded several who fell in his way during these nocturnal excursions. It is, therefore, little to be wondered at, that his manners were offensive to his queen, and that when she found herself emancipated from him she should wish to remain on the throne, and share it with a husband more agreeable to her taste.

To save appearances, however, it was necessary to amuse the public with the idea, that her marriage with Don Pedro would be an affair of policy and prudence rather than of love. The princess of Nemours gave out that she wished to be legally freed from her former ties, merely to recover her dowry and retire to France. The marriage was declared void, with the consent of Alonzo, who acknowledged the truth of his queen's insinuations or open assertions against him; but the states, as unwilling or unable to return her portion as she was little disposed to claim it, by a finesse, in which neither party was deceived, pressed her to remain among them, and to espouse Don Pedro as a discharge for the debt. A novelist would have worked up this scene between the ex-queen and the deputation of the states, with all the attributes of crimson blushes and delicate embarrassment; but we shall observe the gravity of history, and say,

that she only kept a decent silence, which was construed into assent.

The deputies of the states next waited on Don Pedro, and represented this marriage as necessary for the tranquillity of the kingdom, as well as for his own interest and happiness. The regent had already given the princess of Nemours his heart, and he made no hesitation in offering her his hand. Thus every thing was settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties principally concerned, as well as of the ostensible agents in the business.

Few marriages, indeed, had been conducted with more diplomatic form, or presented a more singular union. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp; and Alonzo, in his prison, first heard the news by the thundering of cannon. At first he appeared a little surprised and agitated at the intelligence, but, soon recovering himself, said, that "he pitied his brother, who he did not doubt would soon be as much tired of the French woman as he had been." This proves that Alonzo was as indifferent as his former queen could possibly be, and that no affection was wounded by their separation.

Don Pedro, however, though ambition silenced the voice of conscience, it could not stifle the feelings of nature. He could not endure an object perpetually before his eyes that filled him with self-reproach, and therefore transported his brother to the island of Tercera, a safe and agreeable retreat, where he might enjoy the pleasures of the chase without interruption.

But fortune was not yet weary of persecuting

this unhappy prince ; both from friends and enemies he was equally doomed to suffer. Some of the former, having insinuated that it was the regent's design to take him off when removed to such a distance, and the murmurs and discontent of the people being excited on this account, in order to allay them, Alonzo was brought back, and shut up in the castle of Cintra, near Lisbon, where he dragged out a miserable life of fifteen years imprisonment. When seized with the disorder which proved mortal, he said to his attendants, "I am going ; but the queen will soon follow me, to answer before an awful tribunal for the evils she has brought upon my head."

A. D. 1683.

She indeed did not long survive him ; and it was only for a few months that she saw her second husband enjoy the title of king in full right. For her own part she always affected to be called queen, though certainly she could have no legitimate claim to this distinction after the dissolution of her first marriage. Don Pedro, however, always treated her with esteem and respect, notwithstanding some low intrigues in which it was generally known she engaged. She undoubtedly possessed talents ; but her private conduct was far from being correct. She left no male issue.

Pedro II. soon after her death, was prevailed on to re-enter the marriage state with the princess Mary Sophia of Newburgh, by whom he had several children. As a prince, he has deservedly acquired the reputation of being a profound politician ; but he frequently relied too little on his own judgment, and therefore was the more easily biassed by his ministers. On

this account the English ambassador, in writing to his court, humorously said, "We have only one friend in the council, that is the king; but he has very little influence." He died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, in consequence of a cold caught from sleeping in the open air, after being violently heated with exercise, and left the crown to his son John V. who at that time had just completed his seventeenth year. A. D. 1706.

This prince acted with such vigour and prudence, and adhered so steadily to the plan of policy traced out to him by his father, that Portugal, under his government, was respectable among European powers, and the people happy. By preserving a just balance between France and the house of Austria, which disputed for the crown of Spain, he made himself important in the eyes of both parties, and profited by his alliance with England, without sinking into vassalage. Such were the resources of his mind, that though he suffered many reverses during the war, he obtained by the treaty of Utrecht better terms than his relative situation would seem to have commanded. The two crowns of Spain and Portugal, however, were not entirely reconciled till 1737, after which period their unanimity proved advantageous to both, and incurred no jealousy from other nations. In this position of affairs, a treaty was concluded with the court of Madrid, by which Nova Colonia, on the river Plata, was delivered up to his Catholic Majesty, to the great regret of the Portuguese, who apprehended future danger to Brazil from the vicinity of their possessions.

John was happy in his family, and left a nu-

merous progeny. At last, worn out with infirmities rather than years, he expired at the age of sixty-one, in the forty-fourth year of his reign.

A. D. 1750.

Don Joseph, prince of Brazil, his son and successor, assumed the reins of government under the happiest auspices. He was entirely beloved by his people, and this enabled him to effect several important regulations, in which his good sense and moderation were eminently conspicuous. Sensible of the danger of sudden innovations, he advanced his designs by almost imperceptible steps, so as to prevent all just grounds of alarm and complaint. Amongst other new regulations, he subjected the inordinate powers of the inquisition to some restriction, by directing that none of its sentences should be carried into execution till reviewed and approved by the privy council.

The treaty which had been concluded between Spain and Portugal just before his father's demise, inimical as it was generally considered to the interests of his people, he strictly carried into execution, on the noble principle "that all engagements and conventions among sovereigns should be held sacred and inviolable."

But though the sun of prosperity shone on the commencement of this reign, it was not long before the horizon was overcast, and the most dreadful storms arose, partly from the visitations of Providence, and partly from the rage of faction and the virulence of religious animosity. One of the most dreadful earthquakes* recorded in history over-

A. D. 1753.

* See Appendix.

whelmed the capital, a fire and a famine succeeded, and those whom the first calamity spared, fell a prey to the last. In addition to these ills, sufficient of themselves to be spread over the longest reign, a terrible conspiracy broke out, which had nearly cost the king his life. In September 1758 his majesty was attacked by assassins, in a solitary place, near his palace of Belem, and with difficulty escaped. Immediately after, imprisonment followed imprisonment, and the wheel and the scaffold reeked with the noblest blood. The most illustrious families, on an accusation being preferred against them of having joined the conspiracy, were almost exterminated; but they were in general condemned without fair evidence, and their innocence has since been clearly ascertained.

This conspiracy, which produced such horrible effects, is thought to have arisen from the mixed motives of religion, politics, and gallantry. The expulsion of the Jesuits, who were now become formidable to princes, and who were supposed to have been implicated in the plot, soon after took place. The marquis of Pombal, indeed, who, in quality of prime minister, governed Portugal for many years with unbounded authority, spared neither individuals, nor societies that obstructed his designs, which appear to have been frequently arbitrary and cruel.

When a war broke out between Spain and England, the former power, reinforced by the influence of their allies, the French, attempted to force his faithful majesty into the confederacy, and offered to garrison the maritime towns of Portugal against the English; but this proposal being rejected, an

A. D. 1762.

invasion of Portugal ensued, though it produced no very important consequences. The enemy, indeed, was so very dilatory in its progress, though the capital itself was exposed, that it is doubted whether the motive might not have been to hasten the peace between England and France, in consideration of the great apparent danger of Portugal. The arrival of a few English battalions, however, checked the career of the invaders: the kingdom was saved by British prowess, as the people on a former occasion had been relieved by British generosity.

A. D. 1777. Joseph dying, left only daughters. Maria Frances Isabella, the eldest, and the present queen of Portugal, was married to her own uncle Don Pedro, by dispensation from the pope, in order to prevent the crown from falling into a foreign family. One of the first acts of her reign was to dismiss the marquis of Pombal, who had so long exercised a tyrannical power over his fellow subjects. This was a very popular measure; yet it must be allowed that the temper and habits of the Portuguese nation require either a prince or a minister, who has genius to project plans of reform, and resolution enough to carry them into execution. This the worst enemies of Pombal allow that he possessed, and the nation are now reaping the benefit of some public measures which he forced upon them.

A. D. 1786. Pedro departed this life in the sixty-ninth year of his age. A few years after, the queen falling into a religious melancholy, which still incapacitated her for the cares of government, her son John-Maria-Joseph-Lewis, prince of Brazil, as presumptive

heir to the crown, published an edict declaring, that in consequence of the unhappy situation of his mother, he would place his signature to public acts during her indisposition, and that no other change would be made in the forms. A. D. 1792.

In the late war, which involved, either nearly or remotely, all the civilized world, Portugal was often threatened by the ephemeral governments of France, on account of its alliance with Britain; and when Bonaparte, with equal good fortune and address, engrossed the whole power of the nominal republic, an invasion on the part of his ally the king of Spain took place, in which some territory was wrested from Portugal, while the French extorted a considerable treasure from it, as the price of farther forbearance. Its faithful friends and allies, the British, were too much engaged in an extended warfare to grant that prompt and efficacious assistance which it had done on former occasions: but nothing was omitted that zeal and good faith could accomplish, not only to maintain the independence, but as far as possible the integrity, of the Portuguese dominions.

Whether the gratitude of this nation will keep pace with the generous exertions that the crown of Great Britain made in its favour remains to be tried; but certain we are, it cannot fail in this respect without incurring all the infamy which attaches to those who are unmindful of their benefactors.

whether I should stay in the apartment, or run into the street, as the danger in both places seemed equal; and still flattering myself that this tremor might produce no other effects than such inconsiderable ones as had been felt at Madeira; but in a moment I was roused from my dream, being instantly stunned with a most horrid crash, as if every edifice in the city had tumbled down at once. The house I was in shook with such violence that the upper stories immediately fell, and though my apartment (which was the first floor) did not then share the same fate, yet every thing was thrown out of its place in such a manner, that it was with no small difficulty I kept my feet, and expected nothing less than to be soon crushed to death, as the walls continued rocking to and fro in the frightfullest manner, opening in several places; large stones falling down on every side from the cracks; and the ends of most of the rafters starting out of the roof. To add to this terrifying scene, the sky in a moment became so gloomy, that I could now distinguish no particular object: it was an Egyptian darkness indeed, such as might be felt; owing, no doubt, to the prodigious clouds of dust and lime, raised from so violent a concussion, and as some reported, to sulphureous exhalations, but this I cannot affirm; however, it is certain I found myself almost choaked for near ten minutes.

As soon as the gloom began to disperse, and the violence of the shock seemed pretty much abated, the first object I perceived in the room, was a woman sitting on the floor, with an infant in her arms, all covered with dust, pale, and

trembling: I asked her how she got hither; but her consternation was so great, that she could give me no account of her escape. The poor creature asked me, in the utmost agony, if I did not think the world was at an end; at the same time she complained of being choaked, and begged, for God's sake, I would procure her a little drink; upon this I went to a closet where I kept a large jar with water, but finding it broken in pieces, I told her she must not now think of quenching her thirst, but saving her life, as the house was just falling on our heads; and if a second shock came, would certainly bury us both. I bade her therefore take hold of my arm, and that I would endeavour to bring her into some place of security.

I shall always look upon it as a particular providence, that I happened on this occasion to be undressed, for had I dressed myself, as I proposed, when I got out of bed, in order to breakfast with a friend, I should, in all probability, have run into the street, at the beginning of the shock, as the rest of the people in the house did, and consequently have had my brains dashed out, as every one of them had. However, the imminent danger I was in, did not hinder me from considering that my present dress, only a gown and slippers, would render my getting over the ruins almost impracticable: I had, therefore, still presence of mind enough left, to put on a pair of shoes and a coat, the first that came in my way, which was every thing I saved, and in this dress I hurried down stairs, the woman with me holding by my arm, and made directly to that end of the street which opens to the Tagus; but finding the passage this way entire-

ly blocked up with the fallen houses to the height of their second stories, I turned back to the other end which led into the main street (the common thoroughfare to the palace,) and having helped the woman over a vast heap of ruins, with no small hazard to my own life. Just as we were going into this street, as there was one part I could not climb over without the assistance of my hands, as well as feet, I desired her to let go her hold, which she did, remaining two or three feet behind me, at which instant there fell a vast stone from a tottering wall, and crushed both her and the child in pieces. So dismal a spectacle at any other time would have affected me in the highest degree; but the dread I was in of sharing the same fate myself, and the many instances of the same kind which presented themselves all around, were too shocking to make me dwell a moment on this single object.

I had now a long narrow street to pass, with the houses on each side four or five stories high, all very old, the greater part already thrown down, or continually falling, and threatening the passengers with inevitable death at every step, numbers of whom lay killed before me, or what I thought far more deplorable, so bruised and wounded, that they could not stir to help themselves. For my own part, as destruction to me appeared unavoidable, I only wished I might be made an end of at once, and not have my limbs broken, in which case, I could expect nothing else but to be left upon the spot, lingering in misery, like these poor unhappy wretches, without receiving the least succour from any person.

As self-preservation, however, is the first law of nature, these sad thoughts did not so far prevail, as to make me totally despair. I proceeded on as fast as I conveniently could, though with the utmost caution, and having at length got clear of this horrid passage, I found myself safe and unhurt in the large open space before St. Paul's church, which had been thrown down a few minutes before, and buried a great part of the congregation. Here I stood some time, considering what I should do, and not thinking myself safe in this situation, I came to the resolution of climbing over the ruins of the west end of the church, in order to get to the river side, that I might be removed, as far as possible, from the tottering houses, in case of a second shock.

This, with some difficulty, I accomplished; and here I found a prodigious concourse of people of both sexes, and of all ranks and conditions, among whom I observed some of the principal canons of the patriarchal church, in their purple robes and rockets, as these all go in the habit of bishops; several priests who had run from the altars in their sacerdotal vestments in the midst of their celebrating mass; ladies half dressed, and some without shoes; all these, whom their mutual dangers had there assembled as to a place of safety, were on their knees at prayers, with the terrors of death in their countenances, every one striking his breast, and crying out incessantly, *Miserecordia men Dios!*

Among this crowd, I could not avoid taking notice of an old venerable priest, in a stole and surplice, who, I apprehend, had escaped from St. Paul's. He was continually moving to and fro among the people, exhorting them to repent-

ance, and endeavouring to comfort them. He told them, with a flood of tears, that God was grievously provoked at their sins, but that if they would call upon the Blessed Virgin, she would intercede for them. Every one now flocked around him, earnestly begging his benediction; and happy did that man think himself, who could get near enough to touch but the hem of his garment. Several I observed had little wooden crucifixes, and images of saints, in their hands, which they offered me to kiss: and one poor Irishman, I remember, held out a St. Antonio to me for this purpose; and when I gently put his arm aside, as giving him to understand, that I desired to be excused this piece of devotion, he asked me, with some indignation, "Whether I thought there was a God?" I very believe many of the poor bigoted creatures, who saved these useless pieces of wood, left their children to perish. However, you must not imagine, that I have now the least inclination to mock at their superstitions, I sincerely pity them; and must own, that a more affecting spectacle was never seen. Their tears, their bitter sighs and lamentations, would have touched the most flinty hearts. I knelt down among them, and prayed as fervently as the rest, though to a much properer object, the only Being who could hear my prayers, or afford me any succour.

In the midst of our devotions, the second great shock came on, little less violent than the first; and completed the ruin of those buildings which had been already much shattered. The consternation now became so universal, that the shrieks and cries of *Misercordia* could be dis-

tinctly heard from the top of St. Catherine's hill, at a considerable distance off, whither a vast number of people had likewise retreated; at the same time we could hear the fall of the parish church there, whereby many persons were killed on the spot, and others mortally wounded. You may judge of the force of this shock, when I inform you, it was so violent, that I could scarce keep on my knees, but it was attended with some circumstances still more dreadful than the former.—On a sudden, I heard a general outcry, "The sea is coming in, we shall be all lost." Upon this, turning my eyes towards the river, which in that place is near four miles broad, I could perceive it heaving and swelling in a most unaccountable manner, as no wind was stirring; and in an instant there appeared, at some small distance, a large body of water rising as it were like a mountain. It came on foaming and roaring, and rushing towards the shore with such impetuosity, that we all immediately ran for our lives, as fast as possible; many were actually swept away, and the rest above their waist in water, at a good distance from the banks. For my own part, I had the narrowest escape possible, and should certainly have been lost, had I not grasped a large beam that lay on the ground, till the water returned to its channel, which it did almost the same instant, with equal rapidity. As there now appeared at least as much danger from the sea as the land, and I scarcely knew whither to retire for safety; but I took a sudden resolution of returning back with my clothes all dropping to the area of St. Paul's. Here I stood some time, and observed the ships tumbling and tossing about, as in a violent storm;

some had broken their cables, and were carried to the other side of the Tagus; others were whirled round with incredible swiftness; several large boats were turned keel upwards, and all this without any wind. It was at the time of which I am now speaking that the fine new quay, built entirely of rough marble, at an immense expense, was entirely swallowed up, with all the people on it, who had fled thither for safety, and had reason to think themselves out of danger in such a place. At the same time a great number of boats and small vessels, anchored near it, (all likewise full of people, who had retired thither for the same purpose,) were all swallowed up, as in a whirlpool, and never more appeared.

This last dreadful incident I did not see with my own eyes, as it passed three or four stones' throws from the spot where I then was, but I had the account as here given from several masters of ships, who were anchored within two or three hundred yards of the quay, and saw the whole catastrophe. One of them in particular informed me, that when the second shock came on, he could perceive the *whole* city waving backwards and forwards, like the sea when the wind first begins to rise; that the agitation of the earth was so great, even under the river, that it threw up his large anchor from the mooring, which swam, as he termed it, on the surface of the water; that immediately upon this extraordinary concussion, the river rose at once nearly twenty feet, and in a moment subsided; at which instant he saw the quay, with the whole concourse of people upon it, sink down, and at the same time every one of the boats and vessels that were

near it were drawn into the cavity, which he supposes instantly closed upon them, inasmuch as not the least sign of a wreck was ever seen afterwards. This account you may give full credit to; for as to the loss of the vessels, it is confirmed by every one; and with regard to the quay, I went myself a few days after, to convince myself of the truth, and could not find even the ruins of a place, where I had taken so many agreeable walks, as this was the common rendezvous of the factory in the cool of the evening. I found it all deep water, and in some parts scarcely to be fathomed.

This is the only place I could learn which was swallowed up in or about Lisbon, though I saw many large cracks and fissures in different parts, and one odd phenomenon I must not omit, which was communicated to me by a friend who has a house and wine cellars on the other side of the river, viz. that the dwelling house being first terribly shaken, which made all the family run out, there presently fell down a vast high rock near it; that upon this, the river rose and subsided in the manner already mentioned; and immediately a great number of small fissures appeared in several contiguous pieces of ground, from whence there spouted out, like a *jet d'eau*, a large quantity of fine white sand, to a prodigious height.

I had not been long in the area of St. Paul's when I felt the third shock, which though somewhat less violent than the two former, the sea rushed in again, and retired with the same rapidity, and I remained up to my knees in water, though I had gotten upon a small eminence at some distance from the river, with the ruins of several intervening houses to break its force. At

this time, I took notice the waters retired so impetuously, that some vessels were left quite dry, which before rode in seven fathoms of water. The river thus continued alternately rushing on and retiring several times together, in such sort that it was justly dreaded, Lisbon would now meet the same fate, which a few years ago, had befallen the city of Lima;* and no doubt, had this place lain open to the sea, and the force of the waves had not been somewhat broken by the winding of the bay, the lower part of it at least would have been totally destroyed.

The master of a vessel, which arrived here just after the first of November, assured me, that he felt the shock above forty leagues at sea so sensibly, that he really concluded he had struck upon a rock, till he threw out the lead, and could find no bottom, nor could he possibly guess at the cause, till the melancholy sight of this desolate city left him no room to doubt of it. The two first shocks, in fine, were so violent, that several pilots were of opinion, the situation of the bar at the mouth of the Tagus was changed. Certain it is, that one vessel, attempting to pass through the usual channel, foundered, and another struck on the sands, and was at first given over for lost, but at length got through. There was another great shock after this, which pretty much affected the river, but I think not so violently as the preceding, though several persons assured me, that as they were riding on horseback in the great road leading to Belem, one side of which lies open to the river, the waves rushed in with so much rapidity, that

* This happened in 1746.

they were obliged to gallop as fast as possible to the upper grounds, for fear of being carried away.

I was now in such a situation, that I knew not which way to turn myself; if I remained there, I was in danger from the sea; if I retired further from the shore, the houses threatened certain destruction; and, at last, I resolved to go to the mint, which being a low and very strong building, had received no considerable damage, except in some of the apartments towards the river. The party of soldiers, which is every day set there on guard, had all deserted the place, and the only person that remained, was the commanding officer, a nobleman's son of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, whom I found standing at the gate. As there was still a continued tremor of the earth, and the place where we now stood (being within twenty or thirty feet of the opposite houses, which were all tottering) appeared too dangerous, the court yard likewise being full of water, we both retired inward to an hillock of stones and rubbish. Here I entered into conversation with him, and having expressed my admiration that one so young should have the courage to keep his post, when every one of his soldiers had deserted theirs, the answer he made was, "*though he were sure the earth would open and swallow him up, he scorned to think of flying from his post.*" In short, it was owing to the magnanimity of this young man, that the mint, which at this time had upwards of two millions of money in it, was not robbed; and indeed I do him no more than justice in saying, that I never saw any one behave with equal serenity and composure, on occasions much less dreadful than the present. I believe I might re-

main in conversation with him near five hours; and, though I was now grown faint from the constant fatigue I had undergone, and having not yet broken my fast, yet this had not so much effect upon me as the anxiety I was under for a particular friend, with whom I was to have dined that day, and who lodging at the top of a very high house in the heart of the city, and being a stranger to the language, could not but be in the utmost danger. My concern, therefore, for his preservation, made me determine, at all events, to go and see what was become of him, upon which I took my leave of the officer.

As I thought it would be the height of rashness to venture back through the same narrow street I had so providentially escaped from, I judged it safest to return over the ruins of St. Paul's to the river side, as the water now seemed little agitated. From hence I proceeded, with some hazard, to the large space before the Irish convent of Corpo Santo, which had been thrown down, and buried a great number of people who were hearing mass, besides some of the friars. The rest of the community were standing in the area, looking, with dejected countenances, towards the ruins. From this place I took my way to the back street leading to the palace, having the ship yard on one side; but found the further passage, opening into the principal street, stopped up by the ruins of the opera-house, one of the most solid and most magnificent buildings of the kind in Europe, and just finished at a prodigious expence. From hence I turned back, and attempted getting by the other way into the great square of the palace, twice as large as Lincoln's-in-fields, one side of which had been taken

up by the noble quay I spoke of, now no more; but this passage was likewise obstructed by the stones fallen from the great arched gateway. I could not help taking particular notice that all the apartments wherein the royal family used to reside were thrown down, and themselves, without some extraordinary miracle, must unavoidably have perished, had they been there at the time of the shock. Finding this passage impracticable, I turned to the other arched way which led to the new square of the palace, not the eighth part so large as the other, one side of which was taken up by the patriarchal church, which also served for the chapel royal, and the other by a most magnificent building of modern architecture, probably, indeed, by far the most so, not yet completely finished: as to the former, the roof and part of the front walls were thrown down; and the latter, notwithstanding their solidity, had been so shaken, that several large stones fell from the top, and every part seemed disjointed. The square was full of coaches, chariots, chaises, horses, mules, deserted by their drivers and attendants, as well as their owners.

The nobility, gentry, and clergy, who were assisting at divine service when the earthquake began, fled away with the utmost precipitation, every one where his fears carried him, leaving the splendid apparatus of the numerous altars to the mercy of the first comer: but this did not so much affect me, as the distress of the poor animals, who seemed sensible of their hard fate; some few were killed, others wounded; but the greater part, which had received no hurt, was left there to starve.

From this square the way led to my friend's

lodgings, through a long steep and narrow street; the new scenes of horror I met with there exceed all description; nothing could be heard but sighs and groans. I did not meet with a soul in the passage, who was not bewailing the death of his nearest relations and dearest friends, or the loss of all his substance; I could hardly take a single step without treading on the dead, or the dying: in some places lay coaches, with their masters, horses, and riders, *almost* crushed in pieces; here, mothers with infants in their arms; there ladies richly dressed, priests, friars, gentlemen, mechanics; either in the same condition, or just expiring: some had their backs or thighs broken, others vast stones on their breasts; some lay almost buried in the rubbish, and crying out in vain to the passengers for succour, were left to perish with the rest.

At length I arrived at the spot opposite to the house where my friend, for whom I was so anxious, resided, and finding this as well as the contiguous buildings thrown down (which made me give him over for lost) I now thought of nothing else but saving my own life in the best manner I could; and in less than an hour got to a public-house, kept by one Morley, near the English burying-ground, about half a mile from the city, where I still remain, with a great number of my countrymen, as well as Portuguese, in the same wretched circumstances, having almost ever since lain on the ground, and never once within doors, with scarcely any covering to defend me from the inclemency of the night-air, which, at this time, is exceeding sharp and piercing.—Perhaps you may think the present doleful subject here concluded; but, alas! the

horrors of the first of November are sufficient to fill a volume. As soon as it grew dark, another scene presented itself, little less shocking than those already described—the whole city appeared in a blaze, which was so bright that I could easily see to read by it. It may be said, without exaggeration, it was on fire at least in an hundred different places at once, and thus continued burning for six days together, without intermission, or the least attempt being made to stop its progress.

It went on consuming every thing the earthquake had spared; and the people were so dejected and terrified, that few or none had courage enough to venture down, to save any part of their substance. Every one had his eyes turned towards the flames, and stood looking on with silent grief, which was only interrupted by the cries and shrieks of women and children calling on the saints and angels for succour, whenever the earth began to tremble, which was so often this night, and indeed I may say ever since, that the tremors, more or less, did not cease for a quarter of an hour together. I could never learn, that this terrible fire was owing to any subterraneous eruption, as some reported, but to three causes, which all concurring at the same time, will naturally account for the prodigious havoc it made: the first of November being All Saints day, a high festival among the Portuguese, every altar in every church and chapel (some of which have more than twenty) was illuminated with a number of wax tapers and lamps, as customary; these setting fire to the curtains and timber work that fell with the shock, the conflagration soon spread to the neighbouring houses,

and being there joined with the fires in the kitchen chimneys, increased to such a degree, that it might easily have destroyed the whole city, though no other cause had concurred, especially as it met with no interruption.

But what would appear incredible to you, were the fact less public and notorious, is, that a gang of hardened villains, who had been confined, and got out of prison when the wall fell, at the first shock, were busily employed in setting fire to those buildings, which stood some chance of escaping the general destruction. I cannot conceive what could have induced them to this hellish work, except to add to the horror and confusion, that they might, by these means, have the better opportunity of plundering with security. But there was no necessity for taking this trouble, as they might certainly have done their business without it; since the whole city was so deserted before night, that I believe not a soul remained in it, except those execrable villains, and others of the same stamp. It is possible some among them might have had other motives besides robbing, as one in particular being apprehended (they say he was a Moor, condemned to the gallies)* confessed at the gallows, that he had set fire to the king's palace with his own hand; at the same time glorying in the action, and declaring with his last breath, that he hoped to have burnt all the royal family. The fire in short, by some means or other, may be said to have destroyed the whole city, at least every thing that was grand or valuable in it. The damage on this occasion is not to be esti-

* Thirty-four of these wretches were executed in a few days.

mated; but you may judge it must have been immense, from the few following particulars.

All the fine tapestry, paintings, plate, jewels, furniture, &c. of the king's palace, amounting to many millions, with the rich vestments and costly ornaments of the patriarchal church adjoining (where service was performed with no less pomp than that of the pope's own chapel); all the riches of the palace of Bragança, where the crown jewels, and plate of inestimable value, with quantities of the finest silk tapestries, interwoven with gold and silver thread, and hangings of velvet and damask, were kept; all the rich goods and spices in the India warehouses under the palace, those belonging to the merchants of different nations in the opposite custom-house, as well as those in the merchants' own houses, and dispersed among the numerous shops, *were utterly consumed, or lost;* even those *few* effects that had the luck of escaping the first flames, found no security in the open spaces they were carried to, being there either burnt with the sparks that fell on every side, or lost in the hurry and confusion the people were then in, or (which I knew to have been the case of many persons property) stolen by those abandoned villains, who made their doubly wicked advantage of this general calamity.

With regard to the buildings, it was observed, that the most solid, in general, fell the first, * among which, besides those already mentioned, were, the granaries of the public corn market; the great royal hospital in the Rocieu, that called

* This circumstance seems to favour Dr. Stukely's opinion, that earthquakes are, in a great measure, owing to electrical shocks.

the Misericordia for the maintenance of poor orphan girls, most of whom perished; the fine church and convent of Saint Domingo, where was one of the largest and noblest libraries in Europe; the grand church of the Carmelites, supported by two rows of white marble pillars, with the miraculous image of our lady of mount Carmel, who could not save her favourite temple from ruin; the old cathedral, which was of an excessive thickness; the magnificent church of the regular canons of St. Augustine, not much unlike our St. Paul's, though not to be compared to it for bigness, and reckoned by connoisseurs the finest piece of architecture in Europe, where lay the bodies of the late king John, and several of the royal family, whose monuments, by the fall of the cupola, were crushed in pieces: the castle, or citadel, wherein the ancient archives and records were reposited; the prison of the inquisition, or holy office, as it is called, with that of the Zimoeira, which was a palace of the Moorish kings, over which the supreme court of justice was held, for the trying of criminals. In short, it is impossible to enumerate the particular damages in buildings only; to say all in one word, every parish church, convent, nunnery, palace, and public edifice, with an infinite number of private houses, were either thrown down, or so miserably shattered, that it is rendered dangerous to pass by them. As to the people who lost their lives on this occasion, to say nothing of those who were crushed to death in their own houses, in some of which no less than forty persons were killed (as a family lives on every floor), either meeting with immediate death, or having had

their limbs broken by the fall of the stones in the streets ; you may easily judge what prodigious numbers must have perished in the churches and convents, as the first shock happened at high mass, when they were assembled at their devotions.

The whole number of persons that perished, including those that were burnt, or afterwards crushed to death whilst digging in the ruins, is supposed, on the lowest calculation, to amount to more than sixty thousand ; and though the damage in other respects cannot be computed, yet you may form some idea of it, when I assure you, that this extensive and opulent city is now nothing but a vast heap of ruins, that the rich and poor are at present upon a level, some thousands of families, which but the day before had been easy in their circumstances, being now scattered about in the fields, wanting every conveniency of life, and finding none able to relieve them.

A few days after the first consternation was over, I ventured down into the city, by the safest ways I could pick out, to see if there was a possibility of getting any thing out of my lodgings; but the ruins were now so augmented by the late fire, that I was so far from being able to distinguish the individual spot where the house stood, that I could not even distinguish the street, amidst such mountains of stones and rubbish which rose on every side. Some days after, I ventured down again with several porters, who, having long plied in these parts of the town, were well acquainted with the situation of particular houses ; by their assistance, I at last discovered the spot ; but was soon con-

vinced, to dig for any thing there, besides the danger of such an attempt, would never answer the expence; and what farther induced me to lay aside all thoughts of the matter, was the sight of the ruins still smoaking, from whence I knew for certain, that those things I set the greatest value on must have been irrecoverably lost in the fire.

On both the times when I attempted to make this fruitless search, especially the first, there came such an intolerable stench from the dead bodies, that I was ready to faint away; and though it did not seem so great this last time, yet it had like to have been more fatal to me, as I contracted a fever by it; but of which, God be praised, I soon got the better. However, this made me so cautious for the future, that I avoided passing near certain places, where the stench was so excessive that people began to dread an infection: a gentleman told me, that going into the town a few days after the earthquakes, he saw several bodies lying in the streets, some horribly mangled, as he supposed, by the dogs; others half burnt; some quite roasted; and that in certain places, particularly near the doors of churches, they lay in vast heaps, piled upon one another.

They have been employed now for several days past in taking up the dead bodies, which are carried out into the neighbouring fields; but the greater part still remain under the rubbish, nor do I think it would be safe to remove them, even though it were practicable, on account of the stench.

I shall mention only one circumstance more, relating to this dreadful affair, as there appear-

of something very extraordinary in it. One Mr. Burmaster, a Hamburgh merchant of this place, had received a letter from his partner at Hamburgh, advising him to remove a large quantity of flax, and other valuable effects, from the house he then resided in, to several distant warehouses in different parts of the city, giving as a reason for his desiring him to use this precaution, that he had dreamed, for fourteen nights together, the city of Lisbon was all on fire. You may depend on the veracity of the fact, as here related, since Mr. Burmaster publicly shewed this letter to every body. But whether the advice was owing to any supernatural warning, or merely accidental, it was of no manner of signification, as he did not pay the least regard to it; so that his goods shared the same fate with the rest of his neighbours.

Thus, my dear friend, have I given you a genuine, though imperfect account of this terrible judgment, which has left so deep an impression on my mind, that I shall never wear it off. I have lost all the money I had by me, and have saved no other clothes than what I have on my back; but what I regret most, is, the irreparable loss of my books and papers. To add to my present distress, those friends to whom I could have applied on any other occasion, are now in the same wretched circumstances with myself. However, notwithstanding all I have suffered, I do not think I have reason to despair, but rather, to return my grateful acknowledgments to the Almighty, who hath so visibly preserved my life, amidst such dangers, where so many thousands perished: and the same good Providence, I trust, will

still continue to protect me, and point out some means to extricate myself out of these difficulties.

As the place is in such disorder and confusion, that the administration of justice is put a stop to, and it is not likely that any business will be carried on for some time, I intend to take my passage for England, as soon as a convenient opportunity offers.

I am, &c.

HISTORY OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

From the Accession of Euric to the Subversion of the Gothic Monarchy by the Moors.

THE kingdom of Spain, situated between ten and three degrees of east longitude, and between forty-six and forty-four degrees of north latitude, is bounded by the Pyrenean mountains on the north, by the Mediterranean on the east, by the Straits of Gibraltar on the south, and by the Atlantic Ocean on the west. It is said to be seven hundred miles long, and five hundred broad; and is supposed to contain about ten millions of inhabitants, on a surface of 150,763 square miles.

The soil is naturally good, though in many parts destitute of cultivation; and the face of the country is prettily diversified with extensive pastures, fertile vineyards, and numerous plantations of mulberry trees, which afford sustenance to myriads of silk worms, and offer an inviting umbrage to the way-worn traveller.

The mountains are clothed with verdure, and feathered with shrubs, to their very summits; the valleys are annually crowned with an exuberance of odoriferous herbs, delicious fruits, and valuable drugs; and even the bowels of the earth are enriched with several invaluable mines and quarries. Some salutiferous springs are, also, found at Granada, Seville, and Cordova; and the refreshing breezes which frequently blow from the hills are admirably adapted, by an all gracious Providence, to counteract the effects of the intolerable heat, to which the southern districts are exposed, in the months of June, July, August, and September.

Among the animal productions of this country, horses claim the most distinguished place, as being deemed the most handsome, swift, and serviceable of any in Europe; the sheep are universally famed for their beautiful wool; mules and black cattle are also tolerably good; and the wild bulls are so extremely ferocious, that a bull feast was formerly accounted one of the most magnificent entertainments at the Spanish court. Game and wild fowl, similar to those of the neighbouring countries, abound in most of the provinces; and the Spanish seas are stored with various and excellent species of fish.

In ancient times, Spain was famed for its valuable mines of gold and silver, and, though these have disappeared, it still affords iron, copper, lead, cornelian, agate, crystals, marble, porphyry, jasper, and various kinds of precious stones. The vegetable productions are also extremely numerous, particularly oranges,

lemons, prunes, raisins, figs, almonds, olives, and mulberries.

Of the manufactures of this country, the most considerable are glass, porcelain, silk stockings, esparto ropes, hempen cordage, wool, copper, and hardware. Barilla and salt-petre may be reckoned among the most valuable articles of commerce; but the Spaniards, unfortunately for themselves, make gold and silver the principal branches of their exports and imports, while the consuls, agents, and correspondents of other countries improve this national imprudence to their respective advantages.

The principal mountains of Spain are the Pyrénées which extend from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean; the Cantabrian mountains, which run from the Pyrénées to the Atlantic Ocean; Mount Calpe, or the hill of Gibraltar; and Montserrat, which excites the attention of every curious traveller by the singularity of its situation, form, and composition.

The rivers most worthy of notice are, the Douro, which falls into the Atlantic Ocean near Oporto; the Tagus, which disembogues itself into the same ocean below Lisbon; the Guadalquiver, which terminates at St. Lucar; and the Ebro, formerly called Iberus, which falls into the Mediterranean Sea, at a small distance from Tortosa. The chief bays are those of Biscay, Corunna, Ferrol, Cadiz, Vigo, Gibraltar, Alicant, Carthagena, Roses, Altea, and Valencia.

Among the natural curiosities of Spain we must enumerate the river Tinto, which petrifies the sand in a most surprising manner,

withers all the plants on its banks, and communicates a yellow tinge to whatever is thrown into it; the river Guadina, which, like the Mole in England, runs under ground, and then rises again; and the cave of St. Michael, near the rock of Gibraltar, in which a petrifying water continually drips from the roof, and forms a prodigious number of beautiful stalactites. The royal cabinet, at Madrid, contains a great number of precious stones, marbles, ores, &c.; and is enriched with a curious collection of ewers, cups, basons, vases, plates, and ornamental pieces of amethyst, agate, and rock crystal, mounted in gold and enamel.

The principal antiquities of this country are, a magnificent aqueduct, erected by Trajan, over a deep valley near Segovia; a triumphal arch, said to have been raised by the illustrious Hannibal, at Martorel; the remains of a Roman theatre, now converted into a church, at Toledo; a ruinous watch-tower near Cadiz; and the royal palace of the Alhambra at Granada, which is equally remarkable on account of its situation, architecture, and internal beauty.

The kingdom of Spain was known to the ancients, by the names Iberia, Hesperia, and Hispania; and, about the time of the Punic wars, it was divided into Citerior and Ulterior; but it has undergone innumerable changes since that period; and is now divided into the provinces of Old and New Castile, Asturia, Galicia, Arragon, Biscay, Navarre, Leon, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, Granada, Andalusia, and Estramadura.

Madrid, the capital of this country, is a dirty

uncomfortable city, in the province of New Castile. The population is estimated at four hundred thousand individuals; and some of the streets are tolerably spacious; but the houses are rendered extremely odious by the circumstance of their windows being grated with iron bars; and the only wall that surrounds the city is built of mud. Lodgings are usually let at an exorbitant rate; and the want of taverns and coffee-houses is severely felt by foreigners: but provisions are moderately cheap; and the palaces, or royal hunting seats, in the vicinity of the town, are worthy of admiration.

Burgos, though formerly the capital of the kingdom of Castile, has now sunk into obscurity, and is only remarkable for its cathedral, which is one of the finest Gothic structures in Europe.

Cadiz, the great emporium of Spanish commerce, is situated on a small island near the continent of Andalusia, and joined to the main land by a fortified bridge. The streets are narrow, dirty, and much infested with rats; but the harbour is excellent, and the adjacent scenery beautifully rural.

Seville is a spacious and well built town, on the banks of the Guadalquiver; but greatly decayed both in wealth and population. The steeple of Seville cathedral is accounted one of the greatest curiosities in Spain; a Gothic castle in the suburb of Friana is said to have been the first seat of the Spanish inquisition; and the wall of the city seems to have been of Moorish construction.

Cordova, in the province of Andalusia, contains a magnificent cathedral, and some exten-

sive palaces belonging to the inquisition; but the streets are mean and dirty, and the chief trade of the inhabitants consists in a particular kind of leather called cordovan.

Barcelona is a handsome circular city, situated on the Mediterranean, and said to have been founded by Hamilcar Barcas. The generality of the houses are lofty, and the streets are well paved and lighted. The inhabitants, who are computed at about 150,000, supply the Spanish troops with most of their arms and clothing; and their bravery was demonstrated in 1714 by their sustaining a siege against a powerful army: but they are unfortunately bigoted to the fopperies of popery, and, on the eve of All Souls, they render themselves truly ridiculous by running from house to house to eat chesnuts, under the absurd idea that for every chesnut they swallow with due faith the soul of a fellow creature will be delivered from purgatory.

Malaga is a large and populous city, surrounded with a double wall, strengthened by several towers, and commanded by a Moorish castle. The streets are in general narrow; but the cathedral is a stupendous structure; and the city is rendered famous by its great antiquity, and the luxuriant fertility of the circumjacent country.

Valencia is a spacious city, surrounded by lofty walls; and its archbishopric is said to be one of the best in Spain: but the streets are crooked, dirty, and narrow; the decorations of the churches are rather tawdry than magnificent; and a considerable part of the population consists of priests, nuns, and friars.

Bilboa is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Ybaizabal; and contains about eight hundred houses, with a fine square by the water side. The streets are remarkably level, clean, and well paved, and the adjacent scenery is highly picturesque and interesting.

Gibraltar, which was taken by the English in 1704, and afterwards defended with extraordinary gallantry against the united forces of France and Spain, is a commodious port, and admirably situated for commanding the entrance into the Levant and Mediterranean. The town is so completely environed by lofty hills, and so strongly fortified both by art and nature, as to be almost inaccessible; the harbour is well planted with cannon; and the strength of the garrison is judiciously adapted to the importance of the place.

The other principal cities in Spain are Escurial, in the province of New Castile, famous for its magnificent palace; Salamanca, a beautiful and opulent town in Leon; Granada, containing the magnificent palace of the Alhambra; Carthagena, in Murcia, noted for its manufactures of esparto ropes and cables; Toledo, situated on the river Tagus; Compostella in Galicia; Oviedo in Asturia; Saragossa in Arragon; Roses in Catalonia; Pampeluna in Navarre; and Badajos in Estramadura. The European islands belonging to this kingdom are those of Majorca, Yvica, and Minorca.

The generality of the Spaniards are of a middle stature and well proportioned; their complexion is dark, and their eyes and countenances are remarkably expressive. The men are famed for their secrecy, temperance, and fi-

delity, and the women have been frequently extolled on account of their personal charms: but the virtues of the former are sadly tarnished by the just imputation of indolence, pride, and jealousy; and the beauty of the latter is said to exist chiefly in their novels and romances. However, as the inhabitants of the Spanish provinces differ materially from each other, it may be proper to give their characters in the language of a justly celebrated traveller. "The Catalans, says Mr. Swinburn, "are an active stirring set of men, who seem well calculated for business, travelling, and manufactures; the Valencians are a more sedate race, better adapted to the occupations of husbandry, less eager to change their situation, and of a more timid and suspicious cast of mind than the former; the Andalusians seem to be the greatest talkers of Spain; the New Castilians are, perhaps, the least industrious of the whole nation; the Old Castilians are laborious, and retain much of the ancient simplicity of manners; the Arragonese are a mixture of Castilian and Catalan, rather inclining to the former; the Biscayners are acute and diligent, but impatient of controul; and the Galicians are a plodding race of mortals, who roam over Spain in search of a hardly earned subsistence." The bull feasts, or fights of cavaliers, form a striking trait in the manners of the Spaniards; dancing is, also, so universally admired, that a grandmother, mother, and daughter, frequently join in the same country dance; and nocturnal serenades are very frequent in the principal cities.

The government of Spain is that of an ab-

solute hereditary monarchy; and females are capable of succession. The king is inaugurated by the delivery of a sword, without the ceremony of coronation; his eldest son is called "prince of Asturias;" and his youngest children of both sexes are distinguished by the appellation of infantas.

The privy council, consisting of a number of grandees appointed by the king, is only authorized to prepare and digest papers for the cabinet council, in which the direction of the executive government is vested; the council of war takes cognizance of all military affairs; and the council of Castile is the supreme law tribunal. Courts of royal audience are established in Seville, Saragossa, Valencia, and Barcelona: and there are several subordinate tribunals for the police, finances, &c. The government of Spanish * America forms a separate system, and is delegated to various magistrates, who, in their respective districts are almost absolute. A council for the Indies is established in Old Spain, and consists of a governor, four secretaries, twenty-two counsellors, and other officers. The cortes, or parliaments of the kingdom, are abolished, and even the faint remains of their constitution seem to be threatened with annihilation.

The military force of Spain is computed at ninety thousand men, including regulars and militia; and the navy consists of seventy sail of

* The foreign possessions of Spain, besides those in America, are the islands of St. Lazaro, the Ladrones, and the Philippines, in Asia; and the towns of Aran, Ceuta, and Masalquiver, in Africa.

the line, three ships of fifty guns, seventeen frigates, nineteen sloops, two fire ships, and two hospital ships.

The annual revenues, arising to the king from Old Spain, amount to five millions sterling; and these form the best support of his government: for though his American income be very great, it is generally embezzled or anticipated before it reaches his court. The taxes, whence the internal revenues arise, are so various and arbitrary that it is impossible to fix them with any degree of precision.

The established religion of Spain is popery; and the inhabitants have been so steady in the profession and practice of its greatest absurdities, that their sovereign is distinguished by the epithet of "most Catholic." The infamous tribunal of the inquisition is also established in this country: but the power of the ecclesiastics has been considerably reduced of late years; and a royal edict has been promulgated to prevent the admission of novices into convents without special permission. It is, however, computed that there are now in Spain fifty-four thousand friars, thirty-four thousand nuns, and twenty thousand secular clergy. There are, likewise, eight archbishoprics, forty-six bishoprics, and twenty-four universities.

Such of the Spanish nobility and gentry as are unmixed with Moorish families are distinguished by the general appellation of "Hidalgo;" and are divided into princes, dukes, marquisses, counts, viscounts, and other inferior titles. The orders of knighthood are those of the Golden Fleece, Calatrava, St. Jago de Com-

postella, Montesa, The Lady of Mercy, Charles III. and Alcantara.

The Spanish language is expressive and majestic; and might be called a spurious Latin were it not for several exotic words and terminations, that have been introduced by the Goths and Moors. It makes but an indifferent figure in translation; but it may be considered as a standard tongue, having retained its purity for nearly two hundred years.

Literature cannot be expected to flourish under so despotic a government as that of Spain: there are, however, some good productions, in the Spanish language, on various literary subjects; and several of the cities and palaces exhibit striking specimens of Spanish painting, architecture, and sculpture.

It appears expedient to commence our *history* of Spain with the accession of Euric, who is commonly considered as the founder of the Gothic monarchy in that country: but in order to render it the more perspicuous and intelligible, we must take a rapid survey of the general state of affairs not only in Spain, but likewise in the adjacent nations.

A. D. 466. The eastern coasts of Spain were, at this time, possessed by the Romans, though the power of that people had suffered a sensible diminution; the western part of the country was subject to Resimond, king of the Sueves, who had secured his territories by a prudent marriage with the daughter of Theodoric; and the interior provinces, together with those on the frontiers of Gaul, were held by the Visigoths, who had fixed the seat of their king-

dom at Thoulouse. Leo I. swayed the sceptre of the eastern empire, and possessed sufficient authority to nominate an emperor of the west: and the Vandals were masters of all the coasts opposite to Spain, under their monarch Genseric, who had rendered himself formidable to all his enemies, and was generally acknowledged as a lawful prince. All these nations professed the religion of Christ; but the Visigoths, Sueves, and Vandals, were unhappily contaminated with the pernicious heresy of Arius; and they appear to have acted with great cruelty toward the Catholic inhabitants of some Gallic and Spanish provinces which had been torn from the Roman empire.

Euric, having obtained possession of those extensive dominions which had been acquired by the valour of his father Theodoric, conceived the design of driving the Romans entirely out of Spain; and actually made himself master of Pampeluna, Saragossa, Catalonia, Valencia, and Lusitania. Some strenuous exertions were indeed made, by the nobility and gentry, against this encroachment of the Visigoths; but these were rendered abortive, and Euric, having provided for the safety of his new conquests, led his victorious army into Gaul, where he successively reduced the important cities of Tours, Bourges, and Clermont.

On the deposition of Augustulus, and the subversion of the western empire, Euric accepted a proffered alliance with Odoacer, king of the Heruli; and made himself master of Arles and Marseilles, which had hitherto remained in the hands of the Romans. The Burgundians were alarmed at the augmenting power of their

warlike neighbour, and endeavoured to arrest the progress of his arms, by making an irruption into his territories: but they were compelled to retreat with considerable loss; and Euric devoted the remainder of his life to the enjoyment of peace and the cultivation of the milder arts. He died in the nineteenth year of his reign; and left his Spanish and Gallic dominions to his son Alaric.

A. D. 484. Euric's successor commenced his government with great mildness, and provided for the security of his subjects by espousing a daughter of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. He also caused the Theodosian code of laws to be abridged by one of the most learned lawyers of that age; and exerted himself to compose some differences which had arisen between his predecessor and the king of the Franks: but in the latter attempt he unfortunately failed; and hostilities ensued, which terminated in his death, and the utter defeat of his most gallant forces.

A. D. 507. After this catastrophe, which happened within nine miles of Poitiers, some of the veteran officers of the Visigoths retired into Spain, with Amalaric the only surviving son of their deceased master. The major part of the troops, however, refused to invest an infant with the sovereignty at so critical a juncture; and consented that Gesalaic, a natural son of Alaric, should assume the regal dignity.

Gesalaic had scarcely ascended the vacant throne, before he was defeated by the Burgundians, and compelled to flee into Spain, whence he was afterwards driven into Africa; whilst

the Visigoths, having received some powerful succours from Theodoric, resumed their wonted courage, and obliged both the Franks and Burgundians to abandon their late conquests. The king of the Ostrogoths claimed the country of Provence, as a remuneration for his assistance on this occasion: but he governed the rest of Alaric's territories merely as regent for Amalaric, and entrusted the administration with a person of known merit and ability.

After an absence of about four years, Gesalaic returned into Gaul, and raised a numerous body of forces in order to attempt the recovery of some of the Spanish cities: but he was soon encountered and slain by part of Theodoric's army; and Amalaric, having attained to years of maturity, was put in possession of his father's dominions.

Shortly after he had assumed the reins of government, Amalaric became enamoured of Clotilda, daughter of Clovis, A. D. 528. and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence: but his subsequent conduct was so base and unmanly, that the unhappy princess sent an affecting description of her sufferings to her brethren, among whom the kingdom of the Franks was divided, and earnestly requested them to interfere on her behalf. Hereupon Childebert, king of France, marched with a powerful army into the territories of the aggressor, and gained a decisive victory over the Visigoths. Amalaric fell a sacrifice to the resentment of his invaders; Clotilda, dying on the road to her brother's dominions, was interred with her royal father in the monastery of St. Genevieve; and

the conqueror enriched his churches with the treasures of his fallen adversary.

The royal family of the Goths being extinct, it was necessary to fill the vacant throne by election; and the general choice fell upon Theudis, who had governed Spain with unblemished reputation, during the minority of the deceased prince.

Theudis had scarcely assumed the royal title before the princes of the Franks resolved to drive both him and his Gothic subjects out of Gaul. This design, however, was suspended for some time, and eventually frustrated by the prudence and conduct of the new king. But he was, soon after, repulsed with ignominy by some imperial forces whom he attempted to expel from the city of Ceuta, in Africa; and, on his return to Spain, he was assassinated by a pretended maniac.

A. D. 548. The Visigoths having performed their last mournful duties to their deceased master, conferred the supreme dignity upon one of their commanders, named Theodosile: but his intemperance, lust, and cruelty rendered his reign so odious, that a conspiracy was soon formed against his person, and he was murdered at an entertainment, after he had disgraced the regal title for about seventeen months.

A. D. 549. Upon the death of this tyrant, Agila was placed on the vacant throne; but as his elevation had resulted entirely from the choice of the conspirators, without any of the usual forms, many of the nobility were disgusted; and a general spirit of disaffection began to appear in several of the provinces. The people of Cordova not only refused to ac-

knowledge him for their sovereign, but had recourse to arms, and defeated him in a pitched battle; a body of imperial troops, under the command of Liberius, joined the malecontents, and took possession of all the maritime country from the fortress of Gibraltar to the confines of Valencia; and Agila was eventually put to death by the nobles who attended upon his person, but who were provoked by his insolence, and distracted at the idea of the civil war which had followed his election.

The news of Agila's death was no sooner made public, than Athanagilde, a Visigoth of noble extraction, who had taken an active part in the late rebellion, was proclaimed king with universal acclamations; and, by his command, the seat of the Gothic monarchy was removed to Toledo. The commencement of his reign was extremely mild; and his subjects rejoiced in observing that he rather chose to establish his authority on their affections than their fears. A temporary alarm was, indeed, excited by some unwarrantable encroachments of the Imperialists: but this was soon and effectually obviated by the zeal of Athanagilde and the bravery of his adherents. The remainder of his life, exclusive of some domestic vexations which arose from the marriage of one of his daughters with the king of Soissons, was passed in perfect tranquillity; and he died, in the thirteenth year of his reign, equally venerated by his subjects and respected by his neighbours. A. D. 554.

An interregnum of five months succeeded the death of this amiable prince; and, during that period, the nation suffered severely from

the private views and jealousies of the nobles, and from the bold innovations of the Imperialists. At length, however, the inhabitants of most of the cities became discontented, and the nobles deemed it expedient to provide for their own safety by making choice of a king.

This resolution being adopted, Liuva, governor of the Gothic provinces in Gaul, was nominated as the successor of Athanagilde; and it is universally agreed by historians, that no individual was ever more deserving of a crown, for piety, prudence, and bravery were happily united in his character, and his patriotism induced him to lay aside every thought of private advantage, in order to devote his whole attention to the welfare of his subjects. Perceiving the necessity of a careful administration in the Gallic provinces, and knowing that the Visigoths might be easily expelled from their Spanish dominions if they had not a chief of distinguished abilities in that country, he associated his brother, Leovigilde, in the regal dignity, and requested him to reside at the court of Toledo; whilst himself remained in Gaul, and took every possible precaution for the preservation of his people's security, and the augmentation of their felicity. These excellent designs he fully accomplished; and died universally regretted, in the year five hundred and seventy-two, after an honourable and useful reign of five years.

Leovigilde had, previously to his brother's death, restored the reputation of the Goths in Spain by several great achievements: and, on his becoming sole monarch, he determined to chastise all the revolted provinces, and to reduce

them under that form of government which he thought proper to impose. This great design was accomplished with complete success; and Leovigilde had the satisfaction of observing tha the reputation of his arms increased with every campaign; and that his government was now established in perfect security.

Anxious to improve this favourable conjuncture to the advantage of his own family, he prevailed on the Visigoths to admit the association of his two sons, Hermenigilde and Recared, as heirs expectant of the kingdom, and as possessors of a certain share of the regal authority. He also concluded a marriage between Hermenigilde and the princess Ingonde, and sent the young couple to keep their court at Seville: but, in consequence of some religious disputes, a civil war ensued between the father and the son; and the latter being reduced to great extremities, was despoiled of all ensigns of royalty, and thrown into prison at Toledo. This quarrel, among other mischievous consequences, occasioned a violent persecution against the Catholic bishops and clergy, and gave rise to a general rebellion of the Vascons, who inhabited the countries of Navarre, Jacca, and Guipuscoa.

While the king was employed in suppressing this revolt, Hermenigilde escaped from his prison, and took the best measures for his security by fortifying himself in Seville: but that city was reduced to such extremities, by Leovigilde, that the unfortunate prince was obliged to quit it, and to retire to Cordova, where he was again made prisoner by his exasperated father. From Cordova he was sent, in chains, to Seville, and shut up in a solitary tower, where he received an

offer of forgiveness, on condition of his renouncing the catholic faith, and communicating with an Arian prelate: but as he rejected these proposals with honest indignation, he was privately murdered by the royal command, and his only son, whom he had by the princess Ingonde, was sent to Constantinople.

A. D. 584. Some time after this tragical occurrence, Leovigilde turned his victorious arms against the Sueves, who were under the power of an usurper named Andaca. He met with a very feeble resistance in his passage to Brague; and on the reduction of that city he banished Andaca to Badajos, and obliged him to become a priest, in order to prevent any future disturbances from his intrigues or pretensions. Thus was the kingdom of the Sueves subverted; and from this period the two nations of the Sueves and Visigoths acknowledged the same sovereign.

The Franks made a powerful irruption, about the same time, into Leovigilde's Gallic dominions: but they were repulsed with considerable loss by the bravery of prince Rechared; and the young conqueror acquired a considerable degree of popularity, at his return, by espousing the daughter of a powerful and opulent Goth. Toward the latter end of the year Leovigilde died, in an advanced age, at Toledo; and is said, by some historians, to have been reconciled to the catholic faith: but this fact is by no means indisputable.

In the character of Leovigilde, as in those of most heroes, we perceive a combination of good and evil qualities. Ambition, avarice, and cruelty have been justly charged upon him by

most writers; yet historical justice compels us to observe, that he was a brave commander, a great economist, a lover of equity, and an able politician. He reduced a disordered government to perfect regularity; revised and enforced those salutary laws which, from the time of Alaric, had been shamefully neglected; settled a royal treasury, and regulated the finances; overawed the Imperialists and the neighbouring barbarians by the terror of his arms; and, by cajoling, corrupting, and dividing his enemies, gradually prepared them for subjection. He was the first king of the Visigoths who assumed the insignia of royalty; and he conducted himself on all occasions with such fortitude and majesty, that he was much more respected than any of his predecessors. All ranks and descriptions of people submitted to his authority and executed his commands without murmuring; and it is evident that this general obedience resulted principally from a conviction of the solid advantages which arose from his uniform and well regulated administration.

Recared, the only surviving son of Leovigilde, was raised to the vacant throne, immediately after his father's decease; and his first care was to pursue the negociations which had been opened in the late reign between the Visigoths, and their powerful neighbours the Franks. At the courts of Orleans and Burgundy, the proposed accommodation was rejected with contempt: but Childebert, king of Austrasia, laid aside his hostile intentions, and, after mature deliberation, concluded a definitive treaty of peace. The forces of Gontran, king of Orleans, made an irruption A. D. 586.

into the provinces which the Visigoths still held in Gaul, and obtained some important advantages ; but they were at length attacked by the army of Recared, and repulsed with prodigious slaughter.

Whilst the Visigoths were triumphing in the happy effects of this victory, Recared made a public acknowledgment of his conversion to the catholic faith, and at the same time proposed the introduction of that religion into all parts of his dominions. An innovation, so bold in its nature and so important in its consequences, might be naturally supposed to occasion much commotion in the kingdom ; and, though it was received with all the exterior marks of approbation, it was followed by several alarming conspiracies against the king's person and government. These, however, were all discovered and frustrated ; and, in spite of all the exertions of the Arian prelates and nobility, the catholic religion was firmly established in a solemn assembly at Toledo, and the conversion of the Visigoths became a national act.

Having accomplished this great work, Recared espoused the princess Clodosinde, sister of Ingonde, and sent ambassadors to pope Gregory the Great, in order to procure an extract of the treaties between his predecessor, Athanagilde, and the emperor Justinian, that he might clearly understand the terms upon which the Imperialists still retained certain territories in Spain. He also chastised some Gascons who had made an irruption into his dominions, and made some laudable exertions for the amendment and promulgation of various salutary laws; but whilst he was devoting his entire attention to

the felicity of his people, he was seized with a fit of illness which terminated in his death, after an equitable and glorious reign of fifteen years.

The respect for the memory and virtues of Recared was so universal, that both the nobility and commonalty were anxious to preserve the crown in his family, and, as he had no legitimate issue, they bestowed the regal dignity upon his natural son, Liuva, who appears to have been a youth of engaging manners and promising abilities. This prince, however, was unfortunately betrayed into an imprudent action against the Imperialists; and the traitor, who led him into this error, not only went over to the opposite party, but basely deposed the king, thrust him into prison, and eventually caused him to be put to death. A. D. 601.

The treacherous Witeric was immediately proclaimed king by his unprincipled adherents; and his accession was marked by a vigorous war against the Imperialists, whom he reduced to great distress at the battle of Siguenca. He afterwards attempted to form a powerful alliance against Theodoric, king of Burgundy, who had demanded his daughter in marriage, and then refused to consummate the nuptials; but, the league being suddenly dissolved, he became an object of derision to all his neighbours; and his subjects were so discontented with his government, that he was soon taken off by assassination, and his corpse, after being dragged through the streets with every mark of ignominy, was deposited in a place appropriated for the sepulture of common malefactors. A. D. 604.

A. D. 610. Gundemar, a man of considerable note among the Visigoths, and one of the leaders of the late rebellion, was next elected to fill the vacant throne. He studied, from the very commencement of his reign, to maintain an amicable correspondence with the Franks; and it has been asserted, that he purchased their friendship by an annual pension: yet it is certain that he possessed much personal bravery, and his successful expeditions against the Gascons and Imperialists, have entitled him to a considerable share of military reputation. He died in his own dominions, after a short reign of less than two years, and was universally regretted on account of his piety, courage, and unfeigned patriotism.

A. D. 612. The regal dignity was now conferred upon a person of the name of Sisebut, who to many natural virtues added the accomplishments and advantages of sound erudition. The beginning of his reign was disturbed by two insurrections, one of the Rucons, and the other of the Asturians; but the rebels were soon reduced to obedience, and their subjugation gave great celebrity to the arms of the new monarch.

Shortly after this occurrence, Sisebut conceived the intention of reducing all that part of the country which still remained in the hands of the Imperialists; and his successes on this occasion were so brilliant, that the patrician Cesarius found it expedient to request a cessation of arms, and Heraclius, the Greek emperor, was easily persuaded to ratify a treaty, by which he relinquished all his Spanish posses-

sions, except Algarve, on the coast of the Mediterranean. Elated with his triumph over the Imperialists, Sisebut resolved to chastise the inhabitants of the opposite coast of Africa, who had committed various piracies in his territories, and accordingly made a powerful descent on Mauritania, part of which he reduced, and left under the care of his own troops. This was the last great action performed by this prince, for he was soon after summoned by the angel of death, in the tenth year of his reign.

Anxious to demonstrate their gratitude for the beneficial effects which had resulted from Sisebut's administration, A. D. 621. the nobility determined to set his son upon the vacant throne, and accordingly caused him to be proclaimed by the name of Recared the Second. This prince appears to have been the exact counterpart of his excellent father, and, though a minor, he gave such convincing proofs of his prudence and amiable disposition, that the whole nation exulted in the anticipation of those pleasures which they should, in all probability, enjoy beneath his protection; but he had scarcely borne the regal title four months before he was attacked with an indisposition which proved fatal, and involved the kingdom of the Visigoths in general regret and mourning.

When the first emotions of sorrow had subsided, and the nobility began to reflect on the impolicy of leaving their nation without a master, Suintila, an illegitimate son of Recared I. was placed on the throne; and the commencement of his reign was equally calculated to render his subjects happy, and himself respectable. He also ac- A. D. 621.

quired much celebrity by the zeal and ability with which he repulsed an invasion of the Gascons; and by his subsequent expulsion of the Imperialists he became sole monarch of Spain, an honour which several of his predecessors had thirsted for, but none of them had ever attained.

Suintila had no sooner gained the affections of his people, and prevailed on the nobility to admit the association of his son, Ricimer, in the government, than he laid aside all his virtues, and assumed the behaviour of a haughty, voluptuous, and sanguinary tyrant. The nobles, who had raised him to the throne, were treated with contempt; the lower orders were rendered completely wretched by numerous and exorbitant taxes; and the most unwarrantable cruelties were exercised upon all who presumed to remonstrate against these arbitrary proceedings.

In this posture of affairs, Sisenand, governor of the Gothic territories in Gaul, formed the design of subverting his master's government, and presenting himself as a candidate for the crown. Accordingly, having procured some forces from Dagobert, king of France, he made an irruption into Spain, and took possession of Saragossa. Upon the first intelligence of this revolt, Suintila put himself at the head of his army, and made the necessary dispositions for a decisive engagement: but he had the mortification to hear his competitor saluted king by his own troops, and he was consequently reduced to the sad necessity of consulting his personal safety by an ignominious flight, whilst Sisenand marched in triumph to Toledo, and took pos-

session of the throne to the general satisfaction of the whole nation.

The commencement of this reign was disturbed by some disputes respecting the remuneration which had been promised to Dagobert, and by some vile artifices of Geilan, Suintila's brother; but the former were happily terminated, and the latter, instead of effecting their design, fell upon the head of the faithless projector, who, being stripped of his honours and estates, passed the remainder of his life in unpitied wretchedness. A. D. 632.

In the third year of his reign, Sisenand summoned a council at Toledo; in which, among various other matters, it was enacted, that Suintila and his children should be incapable of any public office, and that all their goods and estates should be confiscated, excepting such as his majesty should, in his private capacity, bestow upon them for their subsistence. The future acts of Sisenand are passed over in silence: but it appears that he died a natural death, after holding the reins of government for rather more than five years.

Chintila was next invested with the sovereignty; and a council was held at Toledo for regulating the political and ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. A royal edict was also promulgated, by which all the Jews resident in Spain were required to embrace the Christian faith, or immediately to quit the country. This edict rendered the king extremely popular among his catholic subjects, and in the sixth council of Toledo, he received the compliments of the assembly upon that subject. He appears to have swayed the sceptre with A. D. 636.

great moderation, and the generality of the people were so perfectly satisfied with his conduct, that prayers were incessantly offered, and vows were frequently made for his health and prosperity; but he died in less than four years after his elevation to the throne.

A. D. 640. Chintila had no sooner submitted to the mortal condition, than his son Tulga succeeded to his dignities, with the unanimous consent of the nation. This prince appears to have inherited all the virtues of his father; but, on account of his youth, he was incapable of correcting the abuses which had begun to overspread his dominions, and, after some deliberation, the principal nobility judged it expedient to depose him, and to bestow the diadem upon a person of mature age and abilities. Accordingly, the young king was secluded in a monastery, and Chindasuintho, a venerable statesman, was appointed to terminate those disorders which seemed to threaten the extinction of the Gothic monarchy.

A. D. 642. This revolution was not effected without much commotion, and some effusion of blood; but Chindasuintho resolved to maintain his new title by force, and eventually compelled all the inhabitants of Spain to acknowledge him as their lawful sovereign. In the sixth year of this reign a council was held at Toledo, in which some canons were made for the security of the king's person and government, and the terrors of perpetual excommunication were levelled against all persons who should either revolt from their allegiance, or apply for foreign aid against the existing administration. About the same time, a young

adventurer, named Ardabasta, arrived at Toledo, and ingratiated himself so effectually with the king and people, that he soon rose to considerable preferment, and received the hand of Chindasuintho's cousin german in marriage.

After he had, in a great measure, obliterated the effects of his former severity, by various acts of clemency and generosity, the king desired that his son, Recesuintho, might be admitted to a participation of the government; and, having obtained this request, he devoted his own time entirely to the enjoyments of religion and meditation till the period of his death, which happened in the ninety-first year of his age, and the eleventh of his reign. He appears to have been thoroughly acquainted with the constitution of the Visigoths, and took great pains to preserve its vigour and uniformity. He was also celebrated in the age in which he lived, on account of his piety and admiration of literature; and he is said to have founded the monastery of St. Romanus (now called the monastery of Ornisga,) between Toro and Tordesillas.

Recesuintho, having gained a decisive victory over an army of revolted Gascons, summoned a council at Toledo, in A. D. 653. order to settle the affairs of the kingdom, and presented a written memorial to the members of that assembly, in which he made an avowal of the catholic faith, and recommended a punctual execution of the new canons. He also published an edict, whereby it was declared, that whatever estates or effects were acquired by the Spanish monarchs after their accession, should be annexed to the crown, and belong to their succes-

sors; but that their private fortunes should descend to their children.

From this time, the reign of Recesuintho was perfectly calm; the clergy were entirely devoted to his service; the Jews, whom he had designed to treat with severity, contrived to pacify him by an humble memorial; and the generality of the people rejoiced in his mild and equitable administration. He had, however, an alarming prospect abroad; for the Saracens began to commit dreadful devastations in Africa, and the forces that presumed to oppose their progress were defeated with prodigious slaughter. The apprehensions which Recesuintho entertained of these formidable neighbours preyed upon his spirits, and threw him into a disorder which terminated his mortal existence in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

A. D. 672. Upon the demise of this amiable prince, the Gothic nobles and prelates assembled in order to make choice of a successor; and they unanimously cast their eyes upon Wamba, a nobleman of known virtue and consummate experience. Wamba, through an excess of modesty, refused the proffered dignity; but the menaces of some and the tears of all who were present overcame his constancy, and he consented to assume the reins of government, after reminding them that his own ambition had no share in this transaction. His behaviour on this occasion seems to have endeared him to the populace, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed with equal joy and solemnity, in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Toledo.

Wamba was scarcely established on the throne before he was disturbed by an insurrection of the Gascons and Asturians, and by the more alarming revolt of count Paul, an old and experienced officer, who basely threw off his allegiance, and assumed the regal title in Narbonne. But the king acted with such vigilance and resolution, that the rebels were soon reduced to obedience, and the usurper was, after an obstinate resistance, stripped of his diadem and purple, and sentenced to pass the remainder of his life in a monastery.

On the termination of this dangerous war, Wamba made a triumphal entry into his capital, amidst the acclamations of a joyful multitude. In the centre of the troops were several waggons, containing the leaders of the rebellion; the soldiers were all newly clothed; and the king, with his chief nobles, closed the procession. A solemn thanksgiving was then decreed for the restoration of peace; and various salutary regulations were made both in the civil and religious affairs of the kingdom.

Scarcely were the loud murmurs of rebellion hushed to silence, before the Saracens assembled their whole power, in order to subvert the Spanish government; but Wamba encouraged his subjects to make a vigorous defence, and the invaders were defeated with the loss of two hundred and seventy vessels.

Whilst Wamba was employed in the laudable discharge of his regal duties, Erviga, the son of Ardabastus, formed the base design of tearing the diadem from his venerable brow; and actually accomplished his purpose by giving the king an intoxicating potion, and causing him to be

put into a monastic habit during the temporary deprivation of his reason.

A. D. 680. Erviga having, by a master-stroke of treachery, prevailed on the deposed monarch to nominate him for his successor, was crowned at Toledo, without opposition; and a council was convened in order to sanctify his title, and to enact some fresh canons. His nephew Egiza, was also married to the princess, Cixilona, to soothe the discontent of Wamba's family; and such strenuous exertions were made to gain the public affection, that the commencement of this reign was marked by profound tranquillity. However, after some time the nation was disturbed either by an invasion of the Moors, or an insurrection in the Gallic province; and serious apprehensions were entertained from the augmenting numbers and insolence of the Jews, to whom Erviga seems to have acted with extraordinary lenity. These circumstances, together with a grievous famine, and an epidemic distemper, which carried off great numbers of people, depressed the king's spirits, and induced him to relinquish the crown in favour of his nephew. Accordingly, having assembled his nobles and counsellors, he requested them to transfer their allegiance to Egiza, and caused himself to be dressed in a penitential habit, by which means he was rendered incapable of resuming the abdicated throne. Erviga died shortly after this transaction; and his predecessor Wamba,*

* This amiable prince died at Pampliega, full of years and glory, and was buried in the church of that monastery; but, by the command of Alphonso the Wise, his remains were removed with those of Recesuintho, and interred at Toledo.

who was still living, rejoiced in the elevation of that person for whom himself had designed the sceptre.

The accession of Egiza seems to have been approved by the generality of the Visigoths; and the new king acquired a considerable degree of popularity, by submitting some conscientious scruples to the decision of the fifteenth council at Toledo. He was, indeed, exposed to imminent danger by a conspiracy of Sisebert, metropolitan of Toledo, by a purposed insurrection of the Jews, and by a formidable invasion of the Saracens: but the traitor was fortunately discovered and banished; the design of the Jews was crushed in embryo; and the self-confident invaders were repulsed with prodigious loss.

Notwithstanding these interventions of Providence, the malecontents ardently desired to subvert their monarch's government; and their expectations were soon revived by a rupture on the side of France: but, as neither party gained any considerable advantage, hostilities were soon terminated; and Egiza, after associating his son, Witiza, in the regal dignity, breathed his last in peace. He has been described, by impartial historians, as a brave and vigilant prince, who laboured incessantly for the safety and happiness of his people, and who was anxious to raise his dominions to the utmost height of splendour. If, therefore, it be objected, that the luxury which resulted from his greatness proved fatal to the Gothic monarchy, it must also be remembered that he hoped his successors would have made a better use of an abundance which was accumulated under his prudent and lenient administration.

A. D. 700. Witiza had no sooner taken full possession of the throne, than he passed an act of general amnesty, recalled a great number of exiles, cancelled all arrears that were due to the crown, and displayed such extraordinary clemency and munificence, as enflamed his subjects with the most enthusiastic joy and loyalty: but, by the base insinuations of court sycophants, and by his own natural propensities, he was soon drawn aside from the path of virtue, and he eventually became the slave of lust, intemperance, and cruelty, insomuch that the general attachment of his people was converted into irreconcileable hatred, and the applauses of the nobles were succeeded by just and bitter execrations.

The degenerated monarch was so highly incensed at the liberty with which some of his subjects remonstrated against his conduct, that he banished many of the prime nobility from his kingdom; and exercised great severity upon all the objects of his suspicion: but, notwithstanding all his precautions, the flames of discontent began to spread through all parts of the country, and a civil war broke out, which served as a prelude to universal anarchy and destruction.

During the violent contentions of Witiza, and of Roderic, leader of the malecontents, the Moorish government of Mauritania commissioned Tarif Abrezara to make a descent on the peninsula opposite to Africa; and, though historians differ with respect to the success of this project, it is generally agreed to have been the first important step which the Moors made toward the general conquest of a country which had long excited their avidity, and tempted their ambition.

Upon the demise of Witiza, and the accession of his competitor, the affairs of the Visigoths appear to have been in a most distracted situation: for the manner of Witiza's death, and the election or recognition of Roderic have been scarcely noticed by the Spanish historians. It appears, however, that the commencement of Roderic's reign was rendered peculiarly unfortunate by the defection of count Julian, who had, on former occasions, repulsed the Moors with great success; and by the intrigues of Witiza's sons, who could not, with any degree of patience, submit to the loss of all their dignities.

In this posture of affairs, the Moors made a second descent upon Spain, under the command of Tarick Abdalahi, and effected a landing at Gibraltar. Though the Saracen general had only seven thousand followers in this expedition, he resolved to attempt the reduction of the whole kingdom, and caused his fleet to be destroyed in order to prevent the desertion of his troops: but the governor of Mauritania perceived the necessity of reinforcing the invaders, and accordingly sent over a fresh army of twelve thousand men, under Tarick Abincier, whom he entrusted with the chief command, and instructed to extend his conquests as far as might be consistent with prudence.

In the summer of 711, the Moorish general took the field, and, by the advice of count Julian, committed some dreadful cruelties upon the defenceless inhabitants of the coast. Roderic, on the other hand, having laboured to heal the intestine divisions of his country, and prevailed on the sons of Witiza to join him with all their forces against the common enemy, found him-

self at the head of a formidable army; and flattered himself with the hope of compelling the Moors to retire to Africa. But Tarick Abincier drew over a fresh reinforcement; and acted with such extraordinary conduct and resolution, that the Visigoths were defeated with prodigious slaughter; and their unfortunate king was obliged to take refuge in a monastery, where he died shortly after, either of his wounds, or of grief for the loss of his dominions.

After this decisive battle, which was fought in a plain near Xeres de la Frontera, on the banks of the Gaudalete, the Moorish general led his victorious forces against the cities of Seville and Cordova; committed the most horrid outrages upon the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex; and invited the governor of Mauritania to come over, in person, and complete the reduction of the country. Hereupon Muza landed at Gibraltar with a prodigious number of fresh troops; and an arrangement was made, by which Abdalaziz, Muza's son, was appointed to conquer all the provinces lying on the Mediterranean; another general was ordered to march into those parts which bordered on the ocean; and Muza himself, with his lieutenant Tarick, undertook the conquest of the midland counties. This plan was immediately carried into execution; and though the inhabitants of the respective provinces and cities defended themselves with extraordinary gallantry, the infidels soon triumphed in every part, and Spain was effectually subjugated to their authority. The inhabitants of Arragon, Navarre, and Catalonia chose for the most part to retire into France; and the poor remains of the

Visigoths were obliged to take refuge among the mountains of Burgos, Biscay, and Asturias, from the vengeance of their implacable enemies.

CHAPTER II.

From the Subversion of the Gothic Monarchy, to the Union of all the Spanish Kingdoms, except Portugal, under Ferdinand and Isabella.

ON the first cessation of hostilities, Muza was ordered to attend the caliph, Walid, at Damascus; and the government of Spain was left to Abdalaziz, who undertook to make a survey of the whole kingdom, that the administration of justice might be regulated, the collection of the revenues facilitated, and the value of the Moorish conquest be ascertained. Accordingly, he made himself perfectly acquainted with the general state of affairs; and he is reported to have behaved with great kindness and affability to the inhabitants. The dilapidated cities were, by his order, cleansed and repaired; new fortresses were erected in various parts; and measures were taken for the restoration of a free intercourse between the several provinces.

Abdalaziz fixed the seat of his government at Seville, and espoused Egilona, the widow of king Roderic, whom he caused to be treated with all the marks of duty and submission that were due to her former dignity: but, on his attempting, privately, to throw off his allegiance to the caliph, he was assassinated by some of his own officers; and one Ayud, a man of known courage

and experience, was placed at the head of affairs till further orders should be received from Damascus.

After Ayud had held the reins of government for a few months, he was ordered to resign them into the hands of Alahor, who appears to have acted with great justice both toward his royal employer and the people. Having perceived that many errors and abuses had been committed under his predecessors, he assembled his principal officers; upbraided them with their oppressions; and compelled them to make restitution to all the Christians whom, in their uncurbed plenitude of power, they had wantonly pillaged. He then ordered a general review of the army, and resolved upon reducing all the territories which the Goths had recently possessed in France. Accordingly, he made an irruption into that country with the flower of his troops, and struck such terror into the inhabitants that the cities of Elna, Carcassone, Ayde, Beziers, Narbonne, and Nimes, successively opened their gates, and the whole province was reduced in the space of a few weeks: but whilst the Moorish governor triumphed in the success of this expedition, and permitted his victorious troops to go into winter quarters, a circumstance transpired, in the Asturias, which threatened to arrest the progress of the infidels, and to rouse the Spanish nation from their inactivity.

A. D. 718. Don Pelagio, a prince of the royal blood, had remained in the mountainous parts of the country for about six years without making any attempt against the destroyers of his nation; but, at the expiration of that time, the companions of his misfortunes in-

vested him with the regal title; and thereby laid the foundation of a new government in the province of Liebana, which, from its natural fortifications, seemed to bid defiance to invasion, and enable its inhabitants to take such steps as appeared most likely to accomplish their important design.

Upon the first intimation of Pelagio's election, and the consequent revival of the Gothic kingdom, Alahor sent a powerful army, under the command of one Alchaman, to crush the new sovereign and his adherents: but Pelagio distributed his troops with such extraordinary judgment, and exhorted them so earnestly to retrieve the honour of their fallen country, that the Saracens were repulsed, and eventually defeated with prodigious slaughter. An ambuscade being placed on both sides of the valley, many of the infidels were cut off in their retreat, and their leader, Alchaman, was sacrificed to the vengeance of the Christians. The poor remains of the Moorish army retired with precipitation towards the river Deva, which they designed to have coasted; but by the sudden fall of a hanging precipice they were involved in the general destruction of their unhappy comrades.

Muza, being apprised of this disaster, resolved to march at the head of his best troops, and take possession of some more important post than he now occupied: but, previously to the execution of this design, he was attacked by Don Pelagio, and routed with a dreadful loss. By this victory Pelagio cleared the Asturias from all his enemies, except such as he reduced to a state of slavery, and established a reputation which proved of more essential service to his interests than ei-

ther the number or the exertions of his forces. He did not, however, become indolent or arrogant in consequence of his successes, but employed the leisure which they afforded him, in repairing and rebuilding his towns, founding new churches, and encouraging his subjects to preserve that spirit of heroism which, under Divine Providence, had enabled them to resist their formidable enemies. He also procured his son, Favila, to be associated with him in the government; and took such prudent measures for the restoration of the ancient constitution in all its branches, that great numbers of Christians retired from the Moorish provinces in order to place themselves under his protection. Having effected these great designs, and bestowed the hand of his daughter, Ormisinda, on Don Alphonso, a nobleman of great merit and accomplishments, Pelagio died, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and was buried in the church of Santa Olalla de Velena, which is said to have been of his own foundation. The memory of this prince has been immortalised by his valour and virtue, and his reputation will remain, at least as long as that vast monarchy which has arisen from his patriotic and well-timed exertions.

Of Don Favila, Pelagio's son and successor, we have no authentic account, except that he was killed by a bear after a short reign, and that his remains were interred in the church of Santa Cruz, in the territory of Cangas.

A. D. 742. Upon the demise of this prince, the crown was conferred upon Don Alphonso, the son-in-law of Pelagio, who, in conjunction with his brother Froila, fell upon the northern towns of Galicia, and recovered the

greatest part of that province in a single campaign. In the following year, he invaded the plains of Leon and Castile, and reduced Astorgas, Leon, Saldagna, Amaya, Alava, and all the country at the foot of the mountains, before the Moors could assemble any forces to arrest or impede his progress. He, soon after, extended his conquests to the frontiers of Castile and Portugal; and laid the whole of the flat country waste, obliging the Christians to remove to the mountains, and carrying off all the Saracens for slaves. Having thus secured his territories by a desert frontier, and rendered his name formidable to the enemy, he enjoyed a profound tranquillity for several years, and the strength of his kingdom augmented so rapidly that he, at length, judged it expedient to re-people some part of the desolated plains, and to rebuild the cities of Leon and Astorgas, which he had caused to be demolished. He died in the year 757, and was buried in the monastery of Santa Maria de Cangas. By the great zeal which this monarch evinced in building Christian churches, he obtained the appellation of "Catholic;" and he appears to have had an equal claim to the titles of a great captain, and a consummate politician.

Froila ascended his father's throne by the general consent of the nobility; and gave a striking proof of his conduct and bravery in reducing the revolted inhabitants of Navarre and Alava. About this time Abdelrahman, the caliph's viceroy in Spain, threw off his allegiance, and established himself, as an independent sovereign, at Cordova. In consequence of this transaction,

the Moors composed the intestine divisions, which had long distracted their councils and tarnished their reputation: but fortune still continued to frown upon their designs, and upwards of fifty thousand of their bravest troops were slain or made prisoners in an engagement with the army of Froila. Soon after this victory, the king founded the city of Oviedo, and made it the seat of his government, that he might be enabled to protect the flat country, which he anxiously desired to people.

About the year 758, the power of the Moors received a severe blow by the rise of the kingdom of Navarre, which is said to have taken its origin from the accidental meeting of some gentlemen at the tomb of an hermit who had died among the Pyrenees. At this place, where they assembled on account of the sanctity of the defunct, they took occasion to converse on the tyrannical cruelty of the Moors, and the glory that would result from shaking off their intolerable yoke, which, from the natural strength of their country, seemed easy to be effected. After mature deliberation this project was adopted, and the regal dignity was conferred upon a person of great abilities, named Garcia Ximenes, who soon wrested the important town of Ainsa out of the hands of the infidels. His successor, Garcia Inigas, extended his territories as far as Biscay and the dissensions of the Saracens, which revived after the demise of Abdelrahman, contributed greatly to the augmentation of the Christian power. In 778 Charles the Great passed through Navarre, and pushed his conquests to the borders of the Ebro; but in 831

the independency of this kingdom was revived by count Azner; and in 857 the title of "king of Navarre" was publicly assumed by Don Garcia.

But to return from this digression. Froila, who now called himself king of Leon and Oviedo, chastised the Galicians with unexampled severity for having neglected to assist him against the Saracens: but, though he reduced the rebels, he lost the affection of his subjects, and clearly perceived that their obedience resulted entirely from motives of fear. Exasperated at this discovery, he abandoned himself to pride and cruelty, and even stabbed his own brother to the heart, because his amiable temper had endeared him to the populace. This crime, however, did not long remain unpunished; for a conspiracy was soon formed among the nobles, and the people congratulated each other on hearing that their sanguinary tyrant had fallen by assassination.

Don Aurelio, a prince of engaging manners, and a mild disposition, was placed on the vacant throne, and applied himself with great assiduity to reform and regulate the affairs of his dominions: but, while he was thus employed, the very existence of his government was threatened by a general revolt of the Moorish slaves. This, however, was happily subdued, and the rebels were deprived of all those indulgences which they had hitherto possessed. Nothing further is related of Aurelio except that he bestowed his cousin, Adosinda, and a large share of the administration, upon a Gothic nobleman named Silo, and that he was buried, after a reign of seven years, in a church of his own foundation, situated about fifteen miles from Oviedo.

Don Silo prosecuted the same scheme of government which had been introduced by his royal patron and colleague; and gave some convincing proofs of his military conduct in a subjugation of the Galicians, who had taken up arms against his authority. With the exception of some heresies that sprung up in the church, the remainder of his days was passed in tranquillity, and he was interred, after wearing the crown nine years, in the church of St. John de Pravia.

A. D. 783. Upon the demise of her royal consort, Adosinda caused her nephew, Alphonso, to be proclaimed king: but, notwithstanding the amiable qualities of that young prince, the people refused to acknowledge his authority, under the apprehension that he might eventually prove as tyrannical as his father. Alphonso being apprised of this circumstance, retired to his patrimonial estate in Biscay; and his uncle, Mauregato, contrived to fix himself upon the vacant throne. The reputation of Mauregato was greatly tarnished by his introducing an army of Saracens into the country, and by the anxiety which he evinced for preserving peace with the king of Cordova, who had styled himself the Almir Amuminim, or *Commander of the Faithful*: but his subjects were afraid to undertake any thing against his authority, and he, therefore, remained in quiet possession of the crown till his death, which happened in the summer of 788.

Don Bermudo, brother of Aurelio, was next invested with the regal dignity; and evinced a strong predilection for the virtues and conversation of Don Alphonso, whom he recalled from

Biscay, and numbered among his favourite counsellors. The ill-grounded aversion that had been conceived against this youth now began to subside; and he acquired such great fame by his conduct in an expedition against the king of Cordova, that Bermudo resolved to resign the sceptre into his hands, and the nobles transferred their allegiance to him with the utmost cheerfulness.

Shortly after the election of Alphonso II. who, from the purity of his life, was surnamed El Casto, or "the Chaste," A. D. 791. the Spanish court was removed to Oviedo, and many excellent regulations were made in the government. In the third year of this reign, Issem, king of Cordova, ordered one of his generals to make an irruption into Alphonso's territories; but the invaders were defeated with considerable loss; and the successor of Issem received some powerful shocks from the Spanish monarch. In the year 801, Alphonso seems to have been deposed by a party of malecontents, and thrust into a monastery; but the generality of his subjects rising in his behalf, he was set at liberty, and conducted, with all possible magnificence, to Oviedo, where he continued to sway the sceptre with equal justice and reputation, till his enemies were fully convinced of his irresistible prowess, and his dominions were considerably improved. He then convened an assembly of the states, and, with their consent, resigned the administration into the hands of his cousin Don Ramiro. He passed the remainder of his days in tranquil retirement, and expired at the venerable age of seventy-seven, amidst universal lamentations.

A. D. 842. Don Ramiro was compelled to begin his reign with some necessary acts of severity; for a rebellion was raised against his person and authority by one count Nepotian; the roads and villages were infested with robbers and pretended sorcerers; and the Normans, having made a descent at Corunna, threatened his dominions with the heaviest calamities. However, his domestic enemies received the due reward of their atrocities, and the invaders were repulsed with such dreadful slaughter, that they never thought it advisable to renew their attempt. An irruption of the Moors, under Abdelrahman II. was also rendered abortive by the king's conduct and bravery; and his son, Ordogno, acquired such celebrity on this occasion, that he was immediately admitted to a participation of the administration, and assured of succeeding on his father's death, to the sole possession of the throne.

Notwithstanding the frustration of his former attempt, Abdelrahman led a fresh army toward Leon, about the year 849; but he was again repulsed with prodigious loss; and the reputation of his opponent received fresh lustre. Ramiro, being now advanced in years, and fatigued with the affairs of state, devoted the chief of his time to works of piety and charity, and by those means conciliated the affections of the clergy, nobility, and people. He died on the first of February 850, after a glorious reign of seven years; and his obsequies were performed, with becoming solemnity, in the church of Santa Maria at Oviedo.

The commencement of Ordogno's reign was

marked by a revolt of the Gascons in the province of Alava, and by the slaughter of eight thousand men, who had been sent from Oviedo against Mahamut, king of Cordova: but the rebels were quickly reduced to obedience, and, notwithstanding the loss of the aforementioned troops, the Spanish monarch rendered himself formidable to the Moors upon several subsequent occasions. He also reduced the cities of Coria and Salamanca; fortified the most important places in his own dominions; and even raised a maritime force, which had never been attempted by any of his predecessors. Having persuaded the nobility to remunerate the gallantry of his son, Alphonso, with a share of the government; and having made the best arrangements for the safety and honour of his people; Ordogno submitted to the mortal condition, after an active reign of sixteen years; and was buried in the royal sepulchre of his capital.

Alphonso III. afterwards surnamed the Great, had scarcely ascended the vacant throne before he was driven into Castile by the approach of Don Froila with a numerous body of forces. However, the usurper was soon taken off by assassination; and the royal fugitive was welcomed on his return to Oviedo, with universal acclamations. Having thus regained the sceptre, he put his dominions into an excellent state of defence; suppressed a dangerous revolt in the province of Alava; and gained a decisive victory over an army of infidels whom Mahamut, king of Cordova, had ordered to invade his territories. A. D. 866.

Shortly after this event, Alphonso married the celebrated princess Ximene of Navarre, and en-

tered into a league offensive and defensive against the Saracens: in consequence of which he, in the following campaign, passed the Duro, and continued his progress to Coimbra, which he soon reduced and dismantled. From this expedition the Spanish troops returned laden with plunder; and their victorious monarch, after granting a truce to Mahamut, applied himself to the restoration and repeopling of several cities in such parts of his dominions as were most exposed to the ravages of the enemy.

As soon as the truce was expired, Mahamut renewed hostilities, and assembled a very powerful army under the command of a brave and experienced officer. Victory, however, still adhered to the Christian banners; and, after several sanguinary battles, a fresh truce was negociated at the earnest solicitation of the infidels. Upon his return from this campaign, Alphonso caused a golden cross to be erected in the cathedral at Oviedo, as a monument of his repeated successes; and, about the same time, gave directions for the fortification and embellishment of his capital. Upon the recommencement of hostilities, the king of Leon passed the river Tagus; destroyed a numerous army of Saracens: and ravaged the territories of Mahamut with fire and sword. The Moorish prince, Almundar, on the other hand, made an incursion into the Spanish dominions; but he was soon repulsed with considerable loss, and a third truce was concluded, for six years, upon terms equally honourable and advantageous to Alphonso.

A. D. 884. About this time a new Christian principality arose in Spain, viz. that of Castile, which is now divided into the pro-

vinces of Old and New Castile. It was divided from the kingdom of Leon on one side by some little rivers; on the other it was bounded by Biscay, Rioja, and the Asturias, and had the mountains of Avila and Segovia on the south: thus lying between the Christian state of Leon and the Moorish kingdom of Cordova. It remained under its own princes for about five hundred years; but at the expiration of that time it was annexed to the crown of Leon, as will appear in the sequel.

But to resume the thread of our history. Alphonso, being now advanced in years, expressed a wish to spend the remainder of his life in improving his dominions and augmenting the happiness of his subjects: but the affection which he manifested toward the common people, gave great umbrage to the nobility, and occasioned some formidable rebellions: these, however, were happily crushed; and a fresh irruption of the Moors added fresh laurels to his venerable brow.

Whilst the king was expressing his gratitude, by various acts of piety, for his repeated successes, he was sensibly wounded by the baseness of his own son, Garcias, who had formed the design of deposing him, and seating himself upon the throne. Upon the first intimation of this vile intention, Alphonso seized the unnatural traitor, and threw him into confinement; but, as this step excited loud murmurs among the populace, and as the discontent of the queen, the prince Ordogno, and the father-in-law of the prisoner, threatened the most fatal consequences to the state, he summoned a general assembly of his nobles and A. D. 908.

counsellors, and publicly resigned the crown to Don Garcias, and the province of Galicia to Don Ordegno. The two princes were deeply affected by this act of unexpected generosity, and threw themselves on their knees to implore forgiveness for their rebellion; Alphonso sealed their pardon with affectionate sincerity; and Don Garcias was solemnly proclaimed king of Leon and Oviedo.

A. D. 911. The new king, having conciliated the esteem of his clergy, by founding a monastery, assembled a numerous army in order to attack the Moors, who, during the last three years, had been free from irruptions. The king of Cordova made the best provision he could for his enemy's reception, and put his own forces under the command of a gallant officer, who was ordered to remain, as much as possible, on the defensive. Garcias, however, soon forced the infidels to a battle, in which most of their bravest troops were cut to pieces, and their heroic general was taken prisoner.

Garcias was much elated with this victory; and the generality of his subjects were loud in commendation of his military abilities: but his father assured him that incursions and conquests were of little avail, if made with the mere design of enriching the soldiery or acquiring applause. He, therefore, advised him to levy a powerful body of forces, of which he would himself take the command, while a number of cities, which lay in ruins along the river Duro, might be repaired and repeopled. Garcias immediately reduced this plan to execution; and the cities of Rueda, Osma, Cocca, and Coruna, rose to their pristine splendour, whilst Don Alphonso

made a glorious and profitable campaign against the Saracens.

Shortly after his return from this expedition, Alphonso was attacked by an indisposition which put a period to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age. With respect to his character, he was a sound politician, a justly renowned warrior, and a passionate admirer of learning. The whole sum of money which he possessed at his death was devoted to religious purposes; and by his assiduity several records of the Spanish affairs have been transmitted to posterity in the form of a chronicle.

Upon the demise of his illustrious father, Don Garcias made some vigorous preparations against Abdelrahman III. king of Cordova; and, with the assistance of Ordogno, he gained some considerable advantages: but at the close of the campaign he was seized with a disorder which proved fatal, after he had worn the diadem for about three years.

Don Ordogno, having received intimation of his brother's death, hastened to Leon, and took possession of the vacant throne with the unanimous consent of the clergy and nobility. The commencement of his reign, like that of his predecessor, was marked by an expedition against the Saracens, and his arms were crowned with extraordinary success, for he reduced several of the Moorish towns; compelled others to purchase an ignominious peace upon exorbitant terms; and defeated an army of eighty thousand men, which had been drawn from various parts of Africa in order to subvert his government. A. D. 914.

On his return from a campaign which he had

undertaken in behalf of the king of Navarre, he espoused a lady named Argonta, who was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Galicia; but, at the instigation of some vile calumniator, he repudiated her; in consequence of which, she devoted the remainder of her days to religious solitude. About the same time, the king, having conceived some suspicion of the counts of Castile, caused them to be imprisoned and put to death: but, as historians differ materially in their assertions upon this subject, it is not easy to determine whether the sufferers were really guilty of the crimes laid to their charge.

At the request of the king of Navarre, Don Ordogno opened a fresh campaign, in 923, against the Moors, and recovered several important places from that ambitious and enterprising people. He then married a princess of Navarre, and returned in triumph to his own dominions: but his nuptials were soon followed by his death, and the throne became vacant after it had been occupied by this prince for rather more than seventeen years.

A. D. 924. Don Ordogno left two sons, by his first queen; but as their tender years precluded them from claiming the government, their uncle Don Froila presented himself as a candidate, and was cheerfully accepted by the assembled nobles. He commenced his reign with violent and sanguinary measures; driving the eldest of his nephews into exile, and causing the sons of a Spanish grandee to be put to death, because they had disapproved his election. However, his tyranny was terminated by a fatal distemper, after he had borne the regal title for thirteen months;

and Alphonso IV. the son of Ordogno, was proclaimed king amidst universal acclamations.

This prince had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than he recalled the bishop of Leon; and gave many convincing proofs of equity and moderation: but he seems to have had a strong predilection for the repose of a private life; and on the demise of his beloved queen Urraca, he made a voluntary resignation of the crown, and prevailed on the nobles to transfer their allegiance to his brother Ramiro, who had been, for some time, stationed on the frontiers of Portugal.

Ramiro II. had scarcely assumed the insignia of royalty, and led out an army to repress an irruption of the Moors, before he received intelligence that his brother had changed his mind, and resumed the supreme authority at Leon. Hereupon he led his forces back to the capital, and invested it so closely that the inhabitants were soon reduced to extremities, and Alphonso was eventually compelled to throw himself on the new monarch's clemency. A. D. 927.

During the siege of Leon, a formidable rebellion had broken out in the Asturias, under the sons of king Froila: but on the approach of Ramiro the insurgents laid down their arms, and obtained a pardon by delivering up the young princes, who were immediately deprived of their sight, and sentenced to pass the remainder of their days in confinement.

As soon as Ramiro had re-established the tranquillity of his dominions, he renewed his attack upon the Moors; took the city of Madrid by assault; insulted the garrison of Toledo; and returned in triumph with A. D. 932.

a multitude of slaves and a prodigious quantity of wealth. At his return, he caused the funeral obsequies of his brother to be celebrated with great magnificence; and soon afterwards acquired fresh celebrity by the defeat of a Moorish army which had attempted to ravage his territories. He also obliged the prince of Arragon to become his feudatory; and formed a powerful alliance with the king of Navarre, by espousing his sister Donna Theresa.

Aben Ahaya, prince of Arragon, seems to have had no other object than his own safety in view, when he consented to become a vassal to Ramiro; for he took the earliest opportunity of acquainting the king of Cordova with the transaction, and of imploring him to raise a formidable army against the Christians. Hereupon Abdelrahman made a powerful irruption into the territories of Leon, and drew over reinforcements from Africa till his army was augmented to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men, with whom he reduced all the country beyond the Duro: but while the infidels were congratulating themselves upon this great success, Ramiro marched out against them, and gained a decisive victory in the plains of Simancas. The enemy, though weakened by the loss of eighty thousand men, determined to make a fresh effort to retrieve their reputation: but their hopes were blasted, and the king of Leon returned in triumph to his capital, where he caused the traitor Aben Ahaya to be thrown into prison; and formed a plan for extending his dominions to that chain of mountains which divides the two Castiles.

After inflicting a temporary chastisement upon

some rebellious noblemen, and devoting a considerable space of time to the reparation and embellishment of his principal towns, Ramiro made a fresh irruption into the Moorish territories; gained a decisive victory over a numerous army which had been ordered to stop his progress; and returned to Leon with a prodigious acquisition of wealth. However, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his success; for he was seized, on his return, with an indisposition which induced him to resign his crown, and which soon put a period to his life, after he had held the government for about nineteen years and three months.

Ordogno III. was permitted to ascend his father's throne; and his subsequent actions justified the high opinion which most of the nobles had entertained of his abilities. The commencement of his reign was disturbed by some attempts of his brother Sanchez, who insisted upon receiving some share of the regal dignity; and even prevailed on the king of Navarre to enforce this demand at the head of an army: but the design was baffled by Ordogno's prudence; and the invaders retired without committing any hostilities. A. D. 950.

The confederates had no sooner withdrawn their troops than an insurrection broke out in Galicia, and the king found himself obliged to repair thither in person. On his appearance, however, and promises of clemency, the malecontents returned to their allegiance, and marched, under their sovereign's command, into the territories of the Saracens, where they acquired much wealth and reputation. An unfortunate disagreement between the king and count Fer-

dinand Gonçalez was also compromised, and the arms of Leon were crowned with extraordinary success. In the summer of 955, the king died, after governing with great applause for five years and a-half; and the crown was conferred upon Don Sanchez, who had hitherto resided at the court of Navarre, but had hastened to Leon upon the first intimation of his brother's death.

Sanchez, whom historians have distinguished by the surname of "Gross," appears to have been a person of shallow judgment and less activity. The artifices of his enemy, count Gonçalez, terrified him into a second retreat to the court of Navarre; and the intriguing Castilian immediately set up Don Ordogno, the son of Alphonso IV. as lawful heir to the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo. The new king, however, rendered himself so despicable to his subjects, that he was soon compelled to flee into the Asturias, and Sanchez was reinstated in all his dignities.

Having received intelligence of his competitor's death, and having rendered himself popular by espousing the daughter of a powerful grandee, Sanchez laid aside all his fears, and hoped to enjoy the crown without further molestation. In this, however, he was sadly disappointed: for he was soon alarmed by a descent of the Normans upon Galicia; and by the rebellious disposition of Sisenand, bishop of Compostella. A formidable insurrection, also, under count Gonçalez, threatened to annihilate his power; and, though his forces proved victorious, the chief rebel contrived to take him off by poison.

After mature deliberation, the nobility resolved to confer the regal dignity upon the son of their deceased monarch, though he was, at that time, but five years old. They also appointed his mother, the queen dowager, and his aunt, Donna Elvira, to act as regents of the kingdom; and instructions were issued out for renewing the peace with Cordova. A. D. 967.

Shortly after this arrangement, Sisenand found means to escape from prison, and to reinstate himself in the bishopric of Compostella: but his ambition and his life were soon terminated by a formidable host of Normans, who made a fresh descent upon the Spanish coast, and marked their progress with blood and rapine, till they were, at length, attacked and cut to pieces near the mountains of Castile.

As soon as Ramiro III. had entered his seventeenth year, he espoused a lady of great family; and soon afterwards assumed the reins of government. His subsequent conduct, however, was so displeasing to the nobility, that they resolved on deposing him, and placing their sceptre in the hands of Don Bermudo, son of Ordogno III. In consequence of this resolution, a powerful army was raised, on the frontiers of Galicia, and an engagement ensued, in which more soldiers perished than in any battle that had ever been fought with the Saracens, though neither party was able to claim the victory. However, the sudden death of Ramiro put a stop to this dreadful effusion of blood: and Bermudo II. was proclaimed king with the unanimous consent of the nation. A. D. 979.

A. D. 982. Bermudo had no sooner assumed the insignia of royalty than he determined to exert all his authority in reforming the manners of the people, which had degenerated exceedingly, and in enforcing the precepts and discipline of the church; but whilst he was occupied with this design, the Moors made a sudden irruption into his dominions, and made themselves masters of the important city of Simencas, the inhabitants of which were either murdered or reduced to slavery. Shortly after this occurrence, the city of Zamora fell into the hands of the infidels; and Mohammed Almançor, prime minister to the king of Cordova, put himself at the head of a formidable army, in order to penetrate into the interior of Bermudo's kingdom. Hereupon Bermudo prepared for battle, and his troops acquitted themselves with such gallantry, near the banks of the Ezla, that, though they were overpowered by numbers, the enemy was incapacitated from pursuing their advantages till the next campaign. However, Almançor swore that he would soon take ample vengeance upon the city of Leon; and Bermudo was so well convinced of his enemy's superior prowess, that he ordered all his treasures to be removed; caused the bodies of the kings, his predecessors, to be transported to the Asturias, and retired thither in person, with most of his prelates and nobility.

Early in the ensuing spring, Almançor led a numerous army against Leon, which he carried by assault, and demolished so completely, that, with the exception of a single tower, there did not remain one of its edifices or fortifications. The victor then marched to Astorga, which

soon capitulated; and from thence he directed his course to the Asturias; but here he met with so vigorous a repulse that he thought proper to return to Cordova.

Next year the Saracen general made himself master of several important towns in Portugal; committed some outrages in Galicia; and destroyed the city of Compostella: but his progress was suddenly impeded by a disorder which broke out among his troops; and Bermudo, being apprised of this circumstance, harassed him exceedingly in his retreat.

Exasperated at the dishonourable conclusion of this campaign, Almançor uttered many dreadful imprecations against the Christians, and sent for a powerful reinforcement of troops from Africa, in order to complete the ruin of Galicia: but Bermudo, having obtained the assistance of the Castilians and the king of Navarre, prepared to make a gallant resistance; and a battle was fought near Osma, in which the infidels were defeated with the loss of a hundred thousand men, besides their camp and baggage. Almançor escaped alive from the engagement, but he soon occasioned his own death by an obstinate abstinence from food; and the Christian confederates retired to their respective countries in triumph.

Shortly after this great event, Don Bermudo died, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and was buried at a place called Valbuena in Galicia. His son Alphonso was elected to fill the vacant throne, and the regency was placed in the hands of the queen dowager.

There have been few instances of a regency better conducted than that which subsisted during the minority of Alphonso V.; for the at-

A. D. 1014. tempts of the Moors were happily frustrated; peace and decorum were preserved in the interior of the kingdom; and the prince himself received such an excellent education, that he became one of the best and wisest characters that had ever graced the throne of Leon and Oviedo. Upon his assuming the reins of government, he espoused the daughter of his tutor, Melendo Gonçalez; and obtained a considerable degree of popularity by rebuilding the towns that had been destroyed, and repeopling the tracts of country which had been abandoned in the preceding reign. By his solicitations the nobility were persuaded to re-edify the ruined capital; and he enjoyed the satisfaction of convening the first assembly of states after it had resumed something of its pristine splendour. He, also, caused the city of Zamora to be thoroughly repaired and fortified, and undertook an expedition against the infidels: but, having imprudently exposed himself at the siege of a place called Viseo, he was mortally wounded, by an arrow, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and the thirty-fourth of his age. His remains were interred at Leon, amidst the universal lamentations of his subjects, by whom he had been equally beloved and admired on account of his piety, courage, and munificence.

A. D. 1027. Bermudo III. son of the deceased monarch, was unanimously elected king; and the regency, during his minority, was vested in the queen dowager and some of the principal nobles. These persons exerted themselves successfully to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom; the sedateness and opening abilities of the young monarch gave unspeaka-

ble pleasure to the courtiers; and the generality of the people were delighted with proposals of a marriage between the young count of Castile and the infanta Donna Sancha, as such an union seemed to promise great advantages to all the Spanish Christians in general, and to the kingdom of Leon in particular: the intended bridegroom, however, was suddenly assassinated, and the general rejoicings were consequently turned into lamentation.

Don Bermudo had no sooner assumed the management of his own affairs, than he resolved to form an alliance with Don Sanchez, who had rendered himself extremely powerful by annexing the county of Castile and several important provinces to his hereditary kingdom of Navarre. Accordingly, he demanded the daughter of that monarch in marriage; and the nuptials were solemnized towards the close of the year, with extraordinary magnificence. Some commotions appear to have broken out, about this time, in Galicia; but Bermudo marched thither with such celerity, and approved himself so able a commander, that the insurgents laid down their arms, and their leaders eluded the royal vengeance by a precipitate retreat.

The friendship which had, for some time, subsisted between the kings of Leon and Navarre, was at length interrupted by a claim which the latter made upon the city of Palentia; and this dispute rose to such a height that each party had recourse to hostilities, and Sanchez, after reducing all the country between the rivers Cea and Puiserga, determined to bring his opponent to a decisive battle. This design, however, was overruled by some prelates; and a peace was, at

length, negociated, by which Bermudo ceded the recent conquests, as the portion of his sister, Donna Sancha, and the king of Navarre gave Castile to his second son Ferdinand, who, upon espousing the infanta, should assume the title of king. The marriage was accordingly celebrated, with all imaginable splendour; and the people of Navarre, Castile, and Leon, were equally pleased with a conjunction of interest which seemed to promise them ample security against the future attacks of the infidels.

Notwithstanding the magnificence which Bermudo had displayed at his sister's wedding, it is evident that he had concluded a peace with great reluctance: for, on the first intimation of Don Sanchez's death, he besieged and took the city of Palentia, and made formidable preparations for recovering the whole district which he had ceded to his late brother-in-law. However, his ambition terminated in his destruction; for Don Ferdinand, assisted by his brother Garcias, assembled a body of troops to arrest his progress; and the royal invader was mortally wounded in an engagement which took place in the neighbourhood of Carrion.

Bermudo's army were no sooner acquainted with this fatal event, than they were overwhelmed with confusion, and would certainly have been cut to pieces by the opposite party, if Ferdinand had not interposed, and, with great personal danger, appeased the fury of his troops. This, however, he effected; and caused the body of the fallen king to be sent back to Leon, that it might be interred with due solemnity. By these means the victor conciliated the esteem

of the people; and disposed the nobility to acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign. Accordingly, he made his public entry into Leon, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed in the cathedral on the 22d of June 1037. The Galicians, indeed, rose in arms, under pretence of maintaining their ancient liberties; but these were soon reduced to obedience; and the generality of the nation acquiesced in a revolution by which the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo was united with that of Castile.

Ferdinand, having taken possession of the throne of Leon, determined to obviate all the prejudices and unfavourable prepossessions of his new subjects, by an uniform adherence to the precepts of justice, and an assiduous application to the discharge of his public duties. Accordingly, he visited all the provinces and capital towns; enlarged the privileges of the Galicians; frequently expatiated on the rights of the queen; evinced the most profound respect for the clergy and nobility; and prosecuted his predecessor's plan of redressing grievances with indefatigable diligence.

Having devoted several years to the reformation of his people, and the improvement of his new territories, he, at length, resolved to make war upon the Saracens; and his arms were crowned with such brilliant success that, in the space of four campaigns, he reduced the fortress of Xena, and the cities of Viseo and Coimbra; swept the frontiers of Castile; ravaged all the country about Medina Cœli; and enriched his troops with a prodigious quantity of slaves and plunder. He also invaded the dominions of the Moorish king of Toledo; and

threatened to lead his victorious troops against the king of Saragossa: but both these princes eluded his vengeance by offering to become his feudatories, and to pay him an annual tribute.

A. D. 1068. Soon after the close of this expedition, Don Ferdinand paid a visit to his brother, the king of Navarre, who had been seized with a dangerous indisposition on the frontiers of Castile; but, upon receiving private information that Don Garcia intended to secure his person, he took an hasty leave, and returned to his own dominions. About two years after this occurrence, Ferdinand was afflicted with a fit of illness, and his brother came to see him at Leon; but the king caused him to be arrested, shortly after his arrival, and sent prisoner to the castle of Cea. However, the royal captive found means to escape, and began to levy forces for the invasion of Castile before his brother had conceived the idea of such an attempt. Ferdinand clearly foresaw the mischiefs that would, in all probability, follow this accident, and, in order to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood, he sent to offer terms of accommodation: but these were rejected with indignation, and an engagement took place between Ages and Atuperta, which terminated in the death of Don Garcia, and the destruction of all his Mahometan auxiliaries. The other troops were spared by command of the victor; and Garcia's body was interred, with suitable honours, at Najara.

Having rebuilt the church of St. John the Baptist at Leon, and compelled the Saracen prince of Seville to send him the body of St. Isidore to be deposited therein, Ferdinand con-

vened an assembly of the states, and proposed a division of his dominions among his three sons Sancho, Alphonso, and Garcias; the eldest of whom was to enjoy the sovereignty of Castile; the second to inherit the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo; and the youngest to take possession of Galicia, with the recent conquests in Portugal. This design was approved by a majority of the nobles; and the princes, Sancho and Garcias, were immediately permitted to assume their respective governments in Galicia and Castile.

The Moorish kings of Toledo and Saragossa resolved to take advantage of a division which they considered as the result of mental imbecility, and, accordingly, refused to pay their annual tribute. But they were soon convinced of their error in forming such a hasty resolution; for Don Ferdinand assembled a formidable army, and immediately swept the frontiers of both kingdoms with fire and sword. He even led his victorious troops to Valencia, and set fire to the suburbs of that important city; but a violent indisposition obliged him to close the campaign and to return to Leon, where he expired on the 27th of September 1065, after a glorious reign of twenty-eight years. Besides his three sons, before mentioned, he left two daughters, Donna Urraca and Donna Elvira, to whom he left some particular cities and lands, that they might be enabled to live in a manner suitable to their dignity, without being dependent upon their brethren.

Don Sancho regarded the decision of his father as extremely arbitrary and unjust, from an opinion that priority of birth gave him a just

title to all the three kingdoms; and, upon the death of his mother, he led a numerous army into the territories of his brother Alphonso, with an intention to recover the crown of Leon and Oviedo. This design was set aside, for the present, by the interposition of the two princesses; but, in the following spring, Sancho renewed his incursion, and a sanguinary battle ensued, which terminated in the defeat and subsequent deposition of Alphonso, who was compelled to assume the monastic habit, and to retire to the abbey of Sahagon. The conqueror then took possession of the vacant throne; and, soon afterwards, penetrated into Galicia, whence his younger brother retired to the court of the king of Seville. However, Sancho did not long enjoy the fruits of his success; for he was soon alarmed by the unexpected escape of Alphonso, and his life was eventually terminated by assassination, whilst he was employed at the siege of a city which he desired to wrest from his sister Urraca.

A. D. 1072. Don Alphonso had no sooner received intelligence of his brother's fate, than he took leave of his Moorish protector,* and repaired to Zamora, where he received the warmest congratulations from the principal nobility of Leon and Oviedo. The Castilians also consented to acknowledge him as their sovereign, on his clearing himself, by oath, from the murder of the late king; and, on the subsequent † imprisonment of Don Garcia, the

* Ali Maymon, king of Toledo.

† Historians are much divided in their opinions respecting Don Garcia's imprisonment; some imputing it to the

Galicians submitted to his authority, so that he once more united the dominions of his father, and became sole monarch of Leon, Galicia, and Castile.

Shortly after he had assumed the reins of government, Alphonso espoused Donna Agnes, daughter of the count of Poitiers; and, about the same time, he had an opportunity of expressing his gratitude to the king of Toledo, by putting an end to a war which threatened that prince with very serious consequences. His interference was then requested in the affairs of Navarre, which had been thrown into confusion by the assassination of the last king; and he embraced that opportunity of annexing Biscay and Rioja to his former dominions. A. D. 1074.

Next year a legate arrived at court, by whose assistance Alphonso divorced his queen; and, in the space of a few months, a new marriage was negociated between the king and Donna Constantia, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy. War was then declared against Hiaya, king of Toledo, and, after four campaigns, the capital of that prince fell into the hands of the Christians. The victor permitted his unfortunate competitor to retire, without molestation, to Valencia, and even promised to protect the Moorish inhabitants in the enjoyment of their religion and laws; but, as he was perfectly aware of the importance of his conquest, he resolved to make it the metropolis of his dominions, and exerted himself successfully to people it with Christians.

tyranny or ambition of his brother, and others asserting that he merited it by some intrigue against the government of Leon and Castile.

The Mahometans were overwhelmed with consternation when they saw Toledo in the hands of their enemies, and a powerful league was immediately formed, under the kings of Seville and Badajos, against Don Alphonso; but that victorious prince made such formidable preparations against an invasion, and obtained the promise of such powerful reinforcements from France and Burgundy, that the infidels laid aside their design after one engagement, and negociated a peace to the satisfaction of all parties.

A. D. 1087. Upon the restoration of public tranquillity, Alphonso undertook to repair and repeople all the cities that had been dilapidated during the late hostilities. About this time, also, he bestowed his only daughter upon Don Raymond, who had rendered him some important services; and, in the space of a few years, he had the satisfaction of seeing Aravels, Medina del Campo, Coca, Olmedo, and several other important towns, restored to their pristine appearance, and filled with Christian inhabitants.

In the spring of 1091, Don Garcia expired in the place of his confinement, and his remains were solemnly interred in the church of St. Isidore, at Leon. His funeral was soon followed by that of Donna Constantia; and the sister of Don Raymond became the consort of Alphonso.

Sensible of the mischiefs which might result from the inactivity of his troops, Alphonso determined to renew hostilities against the Saracens, and accordingly made an irruption into Portugal, where he reduced the cities of Coim-

bra, Sanctaren, Lisbon, and Sintria. He also raised some forces for the defence of his tributary, the king of Huesca; but these were eventually defeated by Don Pedro, king of Arragon, and the Moorish principality of Huesca was subverted.

Upon the demise of Donna Bertha, the king gave his natural daughter, Theresa, to Henry Besançon, together with all his recent conquests in Portugal; and, after continuing a widower for about two years, he espoused the princess Zaide (daughter of Mohammed Aben Habet, king of Seville,) who was esteemed the most beautiful lady of that age, and who cheerfully consented to change her religion, on condition of being raised to the throne of Leon and Castile. A. D. 1094.

This alliance proved extremely unfortunate for the Spanish Christians; for, the kings of Leon and Seville having invited Joseph, king of Barbary, to assist them in the reduction of all the Moorish principalities in Spain, that subtle prince made himself master of Seville, Granada, Almeria, and Murcia; defeated a numerous body of troops under the command of Don Garcia de Cabra; and subdued the greatest part of Andalusia. He then returned with a prodigious number of captives to Morocco, and sent over such powerful reinforcements to his subjects whom he had left in Spain, that one of his generals actually invested Toledo, and compelled Alphonso to retire into his hereditary dominions. This audacious attempt was, indeed, frustrated by the vigilance of Alphonso's troops; but the infidels still retained an important post on the frontiers, whence they might

renew their incursions upon any favourable opportunity.

Upon the demise of Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, or *lord*, the Moors hoped to have effected the recovery of Valencia, which had been wrested from them by the gallantry of the deceased warrior; but Alvaro Fanez, the governor, compelled them to retire with considerable loss. However, as the place was preserved with much difficulty and expence, it was afterwards evacuated by the royal command.

A. D. 1103. Soon after this occurrence, Alphonso lost his fourth consort, whose son, Don Sancho, was considered as the heir apparent to all his father's dominions; but, notwithstanding he had now an heir male, the king resolved to enter again into the bands of matrimony, and accordingly espoused a princess of the house of Este, though this measure gave great umbrage to the infanta Urraca, and her husband Don Raymond.

Joseph, king of the Almovarides, having accomplished his designs in Africa, made a fresh descent upon Spain, with a more numerous fleet and army than had ever appeared in that kingdom. Having united his troops, and made all the necessary arrangements, he marched toward the capital, and gained a bloody victory over the Spaniards, who attempted to arrest his progress at Uclea. This fatal engagement, in which the young prince, Don Sancho, and his governor were massacred, was the most afflictive reverse of fortune that the Christians had sustained since the demolition of Leon. However, the infidels purchased their advantage so dearly, that they deemed it expedient to retire

to their own dominions, and by that means gave the Spaniards leisure to levy fresh troops, and to place a strong garrison in their metropolis.

In this melancholy posture of affairs, the king, whose declining years and bodily infirmities disabled him from making any great exertions, directed all his nobles to appear at Leon, and to take an oath of fidelity to the young Alphonso, son of his daughter Urraca, and the king of Arragon. He also gave some judicious directions concerning the protection of his frontiers, and disposed the affairs of Toledo to such advantage, that the inhabitants of that city enjoyed the most profound tranquillity, notwithstanding the languishing condition of their sovereign, and the increasing strength of their warlike enemies. At length, Alphonso VI. submitted to the mortal condition, after he had enjoyed the regal dignity forty-four years from the demise of his father, and thirty-seven from the time of his restoration. He appears to have been one of the most prudent and illustrious characters that ever swayed the Spanish sceptre, and from his death may be dated the numerous calamities of his subjects.

Don Alphonso, king of Arragon and Navarre, led a numerous body of troops into Castile, in order to support his claim to the government as the husband of Donna Urraca. This step rendered him extremely unpopular among the Castilians: and his subsequent ill-treatment of the queen occasioned such dreadful confusions in the whole kingdom, that recourse was eventually had to hostilities by the opposite parties, and a sanguinary battle was

fought on the Campo de Espina, between the adherents of the injured princess and those of her imprudent consort. Victory declared in favour of the king; the cities of Burgos, Valencia, Sahagon, and Leon, were given up to be pillaged; and even the sacred dormitory of the kings of Leon was plundered by the triumphant soldiery.

In this sad extremity, the archbishop of Compostella crowned the young prince, Alphonso Raymond, in the cathedral church of St. James, and encouraged Urraca to take refuge in Galicia. The queen cheerfully embraced this proposal, and soon levied a fresh army, which gained some important advantages over the king of Arragon, and compelled him to raise the siege of Astorga, which he had carried on for some time with equal skill and resolution.

In the spring of 1114, a council was held at Palentia by the express desire of Urraca, in which the pope's legate declared, that the marriage of that princess was void and illegal, on account of her consanguinity with Alphonso. By this sentence the king of Arragon's pretensions were totally annihilated; but the troubles of the state were by no means appeased, for the disappointed monarch contrived to raise a formidable rebellion in Galicia. The queen gave great umbrage to many of her nobility, by the ill-timed severity which she exercised upon her son's most zealous partisans, and the Moors made several irruptions in hope of profiting from these intestine commotions.

A. D. 1118. Some time after Alphonso Raymond had assumed the reins of government, and made his public entry into Tole-

do, Urraca prevailed on him to assist in recovering some places which were still held by the king of Arragon; but she soon took offence at his conduct, and a fresh series of calamities resulted from her violent temper. At length, however, after she had violated many engagements, forfeited the affection of her truest adherents, and proceeded to such extremities as threatened a general rupture, her wild projects were terminated by death, and her remains were interred in the church of St. Isidore, at Leon.

The king, who must now be distinguished by the title of Alphonso VII. A. D. 1126. came to Leon within two days after the death of his mother, and was received with every testimony of loyalty by the nobility of Leon, Castile, and Asturias. There were, indeed, some malecontents in the cities of Valencia, Carrion, Burgos, and Villa Franca, that refused to acknowledge his authority, but they were successively reduced to obedience; and before the end of the year, the new monarch found himself in full possession of all his grandfather's dominions, most of them being regained by his victorious arms, or prudent conduct, and the rest being ceded by the king of Arragon in an amicable treaty.

As soon as Alphonso had procured the blessings of tranquillity for his subjects, he deemed it expedient to provide for the succession by a prudent marriage, and, accordingly, espoused Donna Berengara, the count of Barcelona's daughter, who was equally famed on account of her personal charms and mental accomplishments. The year following he held a council at

Valencia, in which many salutary canons were enacted; and, about the same time, the inhabitants of Toledo gained some important advantages over the Saracens.

The spring of 1131 opened with various troubles, and called all the abilities of Alphonso into action; for he was at once alarmed by an insurrection in the Asturias, an incursion of the infidels, and an invasion of Galicia by Don Alphonso of Portugal. However, the king acted with such prudence and vigilance upon this trying occasion that the rebels were soon compelled to lay down their arms; the Moors were defeated with prodigious loss, and driven to the very gates of Cordova; and the Portuguese invaders were speedily repulsed, and stripped of all their former possessions in the country of Limmia.

Having delivered himself from these formidable enemies, Alphonso marched with a numerous army into the territories of Arragon, where he offered to assist the new king, Don Ramiro, against the infidels, and where he received the benedictions of the Arragonian prelates. Ramiro was so highly gratified by his conduct on this occasion, that he yielded to him the city of Sarragossa. The new king of Navarre also paid him voluntary homage, in order to obtain his protection; the counts of Thoulouse and Barcelona took the earliest opportunity of acknowledging their vassalage; and preparations were made at Leon for investing the successful prince with imperial honours.

The ceremony of coronation was performed with all possible magnificence, and the shouts of "Long live his imperial majesty Don Alphonso,"

resounded through every part of the royal city: but the circumstance of Alphonso's elevation soon excited the jealousy of his neighbours, and a league was formed against him by the kings of Navarre and Portugal. However, his exertions were attended with complete success, and he was soon enabled to turn his arms against the infidels, from whom he wrested the fortresses of Oreja and Mora, the city of Coria, and some other places of great importance.

Elated with these repeated conquests, the emperor resolved to make an attempt on the city, fortress, and port of Almeria, which had long been formidable to the Christian states of Spain and the adjacent islands, both on account of their prodigious strength, and as the grand rendezvous of Moorish pirates. Accordingly he levied a numerous body of forces; procured some powerful succours from Arragon, Montpelier, Pisa, and Genoa; and effected his great design, after a siege of about ten weeks. All the inhabitants that were found in arms perished by the sword; the greatest part of the plunder was appropriated to the use of the allies; and the imperial victor regarded this campaign as one of the most glorious and beneficial that had ever been undertaken by a Spanish prince. A. D. 1147.

Aben Gama, the Moorish viceroy, was so deeply chagrined at the loss of Almeria, that he panted with impatience for an opportunity of revenging himself on the Spaniards, and, after some time, formed a project for the assassination of the emperor: but his diabolical intention was turned upon his own head; and Alphonso soon

obtained another glorious victory over the infidels.

Having made a partition of territory between his two sons, Sancho and Ferdinand; and having also solemnized a marriage between his eldest son, Sancho, and the sister of the king of Navarre, the emperor resolved to enter a second time into the connubial bonds. Accordingly he espoused the princess Rica, daughter of Ladislaus II. king of Poland. The kings of France and Navarre formed conjugal alliances about the same time; and the Spanish court was so entirely engaged by these circumstances, that the Saracens began to enjoy some respite from the fierce attacks of their implacable enemy. Alphonso, however, soon convinced them that his military zeal was unabated; and the Moorish city of Andujar, which had hitherto escaped, was soon added to his other brilliant conquests.

About the spring of 1156 a project was formed for the invasion of Navarre by the Arragonians, but we have no satisfactory account of the progress of that war. It appears, however, that the emperor's attention was diverted from it by a threatened invasion of the Moors, and that he fought with his usual success against those ancient enemies. But he was incapacitated from pursuing his victory, by a violent distemper, which compelled him to halt at the frontier town of Fresneda, and terminated his mortal existence on the 21st of August 1157. He was indisputably one of the greatest monarchs, most successful generals, and ablest politicians that Spain could ever boast of. He extended his dominions from the mountains of Biscay to those of the

Sierra Morena; he obtained the imperial title by the homage of the kings of Navarre and Arragon; he was highly respected by all the neighbouring princes; and his own subjects regarded him with the most affectionate fondness for his strict maintenance of their ancient laws and privileges.

As soon as the mournful ceremony of the emperor's interment was over, Don Sancho and Don Ferdinand repaired to Burgos, where the first was unanimously acknowledged king of Castile, and the second was, with equal unanimity, admitted to the sovereignty of Leon, the Asturias, and Galicia. The young princes, however, were unfortunately more attentive to the pomp of their inaugurations than to the discharge of their regal duties: and the Saracens began to make such incursions into the Spanish territories as overwhelmed the Christians with consternation. Pedraches, Andujar, Baeza, and several other important places, were recovered by these assailants with surprising rapidity; and in the space of one campaign the Spaniards were driven out of all the territories which had been conquered, by their late emperor, in Andalusia. A. D. 1157.

Whilst the court of Castile was alarmed by these unexpected calamities, the new king of Leon was persuaded to dismiss most of the old statesmen who had been peculiarly honoured with his royal parent's favour: and, upon those persons retiring to Burgos, he marched at the head of a numerous army into his brother's dominions. But Sancho treated him with such fraternal kindness, and expatiated so forcibly on the danger of listening to the suggestions of

parasites, that the old counsellors were reinstated in their employments, and Ferdinand escaped the snare which had been artfully laid for the express purpose of subverting his government and authority. Shortly after this occurrence, Don Sancho concluded an amicable treaty with the kings of Arragon, and Navarre.

In consequence of the great success which had recently crowned the arms of the Moors, and of the prodigious succours which were said to be raising in Morocco, the knights Templars, who had hitherto held Calatrava as a fief from the crown, made a voluntary resignation of a town which they were unable to defend: and the king of Castile published an edict, whereby he offered the place to any of his nobles or prelates who would undertake to preserve and maintain it. Hereupon Saint Raymond, abbot of Vitero, expressed his resolution of defending Calatrava; and, without any other assistance than that of a monk called Diego Velasquez, he raised twenty thousand followers in the space of a few weeks: upon this success he gave the Cistercian order a military turn; and from hence arose that order of religious chivalry which has, in later ages, been distinguished by the name of Calatrava.

Upon the arrival of the Moorish forces from the court of Morocco, the kingdom of Toledo was threatened with a powerful invasion; and Aben Jacob, son of Abdulmenon, took the earliest opportunity of commencing hostilities; but, after a most sanguinary conflict, victory decided in favour of the Christians, and their invaders were defeated with equal loss and ignominy. The exultation of the Spaniards, however, was soon checked by the death of Don

Sancho, which happened after he had worn the crown one year and ten days; and this calamitous stroke was followed by many commotions.

Upon the demise of Don Sancho, the Castilian diadem devolved to his son Alphonso; but, as that prince was only three years of age, he was left under the care of Don Guitterez de Castro, who was declared sole regent. This nobleman, who was equally respectable on account of his consummate prudence and inviolable probity, committed the education of his royal ward to a person who proved unequal to the trust reposed in him, and delivered up the infant to Don Manrique de Lara, a powerful and designing noble, who had always expressed the most violent hatred against the regent. Don Guitterez exerted all his abilities to compromise this matter, and to regain possession of the young king's person: but before he could effect his purpose he was summoned away by the angel of death; and Manrique de Lara put so many artifices in execution, that even the king of Leon found it impossible to wrest the usurped regency out of his hands. A. D. 1158.

After making several fruitless attempts against the intriguing family of Lara, Ferdinand deemed it expedient to compromise all differences with Don Manrique; and took advantage of the ensuing calm to repair and fortify such parts of his dominions as were either indifferently peopled, or fallen to decay. He also granted several new privileges to his subjects, and acquired a considerable degree of popularity by espousing a princess of Portugal, in order to establish a firm alliance between the two kingdoms.

Manrique de Lara paid so little regard to the

mild counsels of Ferdinand, that he used his utmost endeavours to enflame the mind of the young prince against the family of Castro, and at length persuaded him to seize on the city of Toledo, which had hitherto been governed by Don Ferdinand Ruez de Castro, and some of that nobleman's intimate friends. In the accomplishment of this project much blood was shed, and Manrique himself was numbered among the slain: but his brother, Don Nugnez, took the command of the army, and the gates of Toledo were treacherously opened, whilst the unfortunate governor retired, with a few adherents, into the territories of the Moors.

Subsequent to this occurrence, the king of Portugal made a sudden irruption into Galicia, and, after a short time, made himself master of Badajos. Ferdinand hearing of this breach of faith, resolved to besiege the aggressor in his new conquest, and conducted his design with such prudence that the Portuguese troops were completely defeated, and their royal commander was * taken prisoner. Alphonso was extremely mortified at this accident, and, in all probability, expected to receive very harsh treatment from his injured son-in-law. Ferdinand, however, behaved toward him with the utmost respect and affection; and after compromising their difference, permitted him to return to his own dominions.

* The king of Portugal attempted to march out of the city against his enemy; but he was completely blocked up by his opponent, and, in endeavouring to force his passage, he shattered one of his legs against the bolt of a gate, which accident threw his own troops into confusion, and facilitated the victory of the assailants.

The Castilians having expressed an earnest desire that their king should enter into the conjugal state, though at this time he was only fourteen years of age, an assembly of the states was convened at Burgos; and, in consequence of their deliberations, ambassadors were sent to Henry II. of England (at that time in Guienne,) to demand the princess Eleonora, his daughter. This proposal was cheerfully accepted, and the marriage was solemnized, in the course of the ensuing year, at Terrazona. A. D. 1169.

About this time, Joseph, king of Morocco, sent a numerous body of troops into Spain, where they made some attempts against Valencia and Santaren: but they were repulsed with considerable loss; and though, in the following year, Joseph came over in person and made himself master of Murcia, he was soon obliged to return to Africa, and the infidels received a signal overthrow from the hand of king Ferdinand. A. D. 1170.

Meanwhile, the ancient animosity between the families of Lara and Castro was revived, and carried to such a pitch as actually disturbed the public peace of Castile and Leon, almost all the noble families in both kingdoms taking part on one side or the other. At length a resolution was taken to determine these resentments by a general action; and a battle was accordingly fought, in the province of Tiero de Campos, with all the fury and obstinacy that inveterate hatred could inspire. Victory, however, decided in favour of Don Ferdinand de Castro; Nugnez and Rodrigo were made prisoners, but generously set at liberty; and the king of Leon

bestowed his sister Tiennetta on the conqueror, in order to attach him the more strongly to his service and interests.

Ferdinand of Leon had lived for several years in the most perfect felicity with his queen, when the pope's legate found out that they stood in an equal degree of relationship, being both of them grand-children of Alphonso VI. and prevailed on his master to annul the marriage. The king was highly displeased at this proceeding, and peremptorily refused to obey the papal injunction for several months; but as his dominions were put under an interdict, and as his subjects began to exhibit signs of discontent, he at length parted with his wife, Urraca, by whom he had an heir to the crown; and about a year after, he espoused Donna Theresa, the daughter of Nugno de Lara.

A. D. 1175.

Alphonso, king of Castile, having freed himself from a dangerous war with Navarre, resolved to imitate his illustrious predecessors, by turning his arms against the infidels. Accordingly he marched, at the head of a numerous army, into the enemy's country, and, with the assistance of the king of Arragon, reduced Cuenca, a place of considerable strength, seated on the summit of a hill, at the confluence of two little streams, which, when united, form the river Xeucax.

Some historians have asserted that whilst Alphonso was employed at the siege of Cuenca, his uncle, Ferdinand, made an incursion into his dominions; and that the Castilian monarch took an ample revenge by committing many outrages in the territories of Leon. But this

account seems very improbable, as we find the two monarchs, early in the ensuing year, holding a consultation, at Tordesillas, in order to strengthen the *harmony*, which then subsisted between their kingdoms. Shortly after this interview, died Theresa Lara, queen of Leon; and the year following, Don Ferdinand espoused Urraca Lopez, daughter of an opulent grandee in the province of Biscay.

The king of Castile seems to have had great success in several expeditions against the infidels; and in the summer of 1184, the whole force of the Moors was put to flight by the kings of Portugal and Leon, and their monarch, Joseph, was killed by a fall from his horse. In the course of the next year, they obtained some advantages in Estramadura: but these were soon wrested from them by the Castilians, and they were again defeated with prodigious slaughter.

In the autumn of 1187, Don Ferdinand of Leon was taken ill on his return from Compostella; and in the first month of the new year he breathed his last, amidst the universal lamentations of his subjects. He left three sons, viz. Don Alphonso, by his first queen the infanta of Portugal, and Don Sancho and Don Garcia by his surviving queen Urraca. He was generally admired for his piety, valour, and munificence; and his remains were solemnly interred, near those of his grandfather Don Raymond, in the cathedral of St. James.

The new king of Leon had no sooner taken possession of his father's dignities by the title of Alphonso IX. than he hastened to pay his respects to his royal cousin at Carrion, and, in a ge-

neral assembly of the states, he expressed his affection by kissing the hand of that monarch as he took his seat. This salutation was afterwards construed into a solemn act of homage, and occasioned several serious ruptures between the two princes; though their forces acted, for some time, in perfect concert, and recovered several important places out of the hands of their common enemy.

Historians have observed that the king of Castile was inspired with unreasonable haughtiness by the proposal of a marriage between his daughter Berengara, and prince Conrad, son of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. The intended bridegroom was received at Toledo with extraordinary magnificence; the contract of marriage was signed; and great preparations were made for the solemnization of the nuptials; but, on the birth of an heir male to the throne of Castile, the German prince felt himself disappointed of his expectations, and returned into his own country without espousing the infanta.

Exasperated by this disappointment, and presuming on his cousin's youth, the Castilian monarch made an irruption into Leon, and committed many flagrant outrages: but the king of Arragon espoused the cause of his injured neighbour, and the nobles of both kingdoms interposed their good offices to prevent a greater effusion of Christian blood.

Shortly after the termination of this war, cardinal Gregory, the pope's legate, declared that the marriage of the king of Leon with the infanta of Portugal was illegal and null; and that therefore they ought to part. Finding his

private suggestions were useless, he summoned a council at Salamanca, where he carried his point, after excommunicating four prelates who had protested against him. The king, however, still refused to part from his beloved consort, and persisted in his obstinacy till his dominions were laid under an interdict, and his superstitious subjects began to clamour loudly for his obedience to the Roman pontiff.

The king of Castile, in the mean time, had sent a numerous army into Andalusia under the command of the archbishop of Toledo; and that prelate acted with such unexampled severity against the Moors, that Jacob Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, immediately published a gacia,* and came over with a prodigious army to revenge his injured countrymen.

Upon the first intimation of Joseph's arrival at Seville, the Castilian monarch condescended to crave the assistance of Navarre and Leon, observing that he was attacked on the score of religion, and that the common cause of all the Spanish Christians was at stake: but before his cousin or the king of Navarre could march to his assistance, he sallied out against the enemy, and came to a general action, in the vicinage of Alarcos, which terminated in the utter defeat of his army and the loss of his own military reputation. Upwards of twenty thousand Castilians were cut to pieces upon this melancholy occasion; the camp and baggage were likewise taken by the victorious enemy; and the shattered remains of

* The *gacia* answers to a popish *crusade*, and insures to every Mussulman who either kills a Christian or perishes in the attempt, a plenary absolution from all his sins, and an immediate entrance into the joys of paradise.

the Christians retired, with great difficulty, to the fortifications of Toledo.

A. D. 1195. Alphonso had scarcely entered his capital before the king of Leon arrived with a numerous army, and expostulated mildly on the imprudence of the recent action; but the proud Castilian answered in such insolent terms, that his auxiliary immediately returned, in disgust, to his own dominions, and the king of Navarre followed his example; while Jacob Aben Joseph reduced Alarcos and Calatrava, and made a furious irruption into Portugal, where he murdered all the ecclesiastics who fell into his hands, and wasted the country with unparalleled barbarity.

Whilst the infidels were thus marking their progress with fire and sword, the king of Castile left the security of his own territories to chance, and turned his arms against his cousin. In this expedition he took several places of inconsiderable strength, destroyed one of the suburbs belonging to the capital, and wasted all the open country with a degree of cruelty little inferior to that of the Moors. Upon his return to Toledo, he entered into a negociation with Pedro, king of Arragon, and prevailed on him to assist him in his next campaign; so that it seemed as if the Christian princes had resolved to act in concert with their merciless invaders, and to accelerate each other's destruction.

A. D. 1197. At this critical juncture, the Moorish prince appeared in the field, at the head of an army which threatened nothing less than the utter subversion of the Castilian government: a circumstance which induced Alphonso to suspend his resentment against his

cousin, and to provide for his own safety by garrisoning his fortresses, and remaining among the mountains with a flying army, which might harass and weaken the enemy without incurring the danger of a pitched battle. In consequence of these precautions, the expected ruin of Castile was averted, and the Moors were compelled, after a fatiguing campaign, to retire into Andalusia. Immediately after the infidels had retreated, Alphonso renewed hostilities against Leon, and the king of that country resolved to check his progress by force of arms. However, by the strenuous advice of the nobility, all differences were compromised; peace was concluded between the contending princes; and a marriage was, soon afterwards, solemnized between the king of Leon and the infanta of Castile.

Early in the ensuing spring, Alphonso of Castile concluded an advantageous peace with the miramolin of Africa. He also gained some important advantages against the king of Navarre; and his satisfaction on these accounts was soon after augmented by the marriage of his daughter Blanche with prince Louis, heir apparent to the crown of France. A. D. 1198.

Meanwhile, pope Innocent III. succeeding Celestine in the papal chair, took umbrage at the union of the king of Leon with his cousin, and sent positive orders to his nuncio to dissolve the marriage. The nuncio, being less violent than his master, gave time for the father and husband of Donna Berengara to send their ambassadors to Rome; but the haughty pontiff persisted in his resolution, and enforced obedience to his commands by threatening to lay

all the churches of Leon and Castile under an interdict. The king of Leon resolved, for some time, to resist this arbitrary proceeding, and actually persisted in his design, till a schism arose among his prelates in consequence of the threatened interdict, and the whole kingdom was thrown into consternation. At length, however, he permitted his consort to retire to her father's court, and the pope vouchsafed to declare the children legitimate, because the marriage had been solemnized on both sides with sincere and laudable intentions. The divorced queen generously gave up her dowry to her affectionate consort; her eldest son, Don Ferdinand, was declared heir apparent to the crown of Leon, in case of his brother's demise; and the other children, viz. Alphonso, Eleonora, Constantia, and Berengara, were left under their father's protection.

A. D. 1205. Though the surrender of the queen's dowry was perfectly voluntary, and sanctioned by the papal confirmation, it seems to have been disagreeable to the king of Castile, as his governors refused to surrender the places which constituted that dowry, and a war ensued, which, with the interposition of some truces, continued for three years. At length, however, the cause of dispute was obviated, by the king of Leon's generosity; and the attention of the Castilians was totally engrossed by a marriage between this monarch's second daughter, Urraca, and the infant Don Alphonso, of Portugal.

As the truce with the miramolin was now on the point of expiring, the Castilian monarch became extremely solicitous to put an end to all disputes among his Christian neighbours, and

he prudently compromised his own difference with the king of Navarre, by which means he obtained the promise of speedy and zealous assistance against the Moors. Having taken these precautions, and bestowed the order of knighthood on the infant, Don Ferdinand, he advanced, at the head of a numerous army, to Alcala, and overran the greatest part of the kingdom of Murcia, till the extreme heat of the season compelled him to retire. However, his triumph on this occasion was soon converted into mourning: for Mohammed, king of Morocco, having passed the Sierra Morena, made himself master of Salvatierra after an obstinate resistance; and the infant, Don Ferdinand, being over-fatigued by the campaign, fell ill of a fever, and breathed his last, soon after his return to Madrid.

As it appeared that the king of Morocco had actually assembled his whole force with an intention to destroy the kingdom of Castile, Alphonso resolved to have recourse to a crusade for the defence of himself and his Christian brethren. Accordingly he sent the bishop of Segovia to Rome, and some other eminent prelates into France, to facilitate his design, whilst himself contrived to fix the kings of Arragon and Navarre in his interest. These exertions were crowned with complete success: for the pope readily sanctioned the undertaking; prodigious multitudes enlisted under the holy banners in France, Italy, and Germany; the grand rendezvous of the confederates was appointed at Toledo about the month of May; and on the sixteenth of July a battle was fought in the vicinage of Tolose, which terminated in the utter defeat of

the miramolin, and the loss of two hundred thousand of his bravest followers. The Christians, whose loss was remarkably trivial, pursued the fugitives till the approach of night, and then took possession of the enemy's camp, while the Spanish bishops performed a solemn *te deum*, and the greatest part of the spoil was cheerfully relinquished by the Castilians to their foreign auxiliaries. Thirty-five thousand horses are said to have fallen into the hands of the victors on this memorable occasion; and the quantity of arrows, spears, and javelins found upon the field of battle was so prodigious, that they served the confederates for two days, as fuel for dressing their provisions, though, during that time, they burnt nothing else.

A. D. 1212. After the conquerors had devoted about three days to repose and refreshment, they resumed their progress, and ravaged all the country as far as Baeza. They then proceeded to Ubeda, which they determined to reduce either by famine or assault; but, as the inhabitants defended themselves with astonishing bravery, and the fortifications were of extraordinary strength, they thought proper to raise the siege, and to repass the Sierra Morena. On their arrival at Calatrava, the king of Arragon bade adieu to the confederates, and returned to his own dominions: the king of Castile, accompanied by Sanchez of Navarre, returned in triumph to Toledo; and an annual festival, called the "Triumph of the Holy Cross," was instituted to commemorate the great event which, in a great measure, determined the fate of the infidels in Spain.

Whilst Alphonso was engaged in this import-

ant war, the king of Leon had recovered all the places that had been conquered by the Castilians. However, his cousin was so far from revenging these acts of hostility, that he generously yielded all pretensions to the objects of former dispute, and assured his royal kinsman of a perpetual and unfeigned friendship. About this time, the infant, Don Pedro, of Portugal, fled from the malice of his brother to the miramolin; and that monarch retired, soon afterwards, to his African dominions, where he passed the remainder of his life in sorrow and vexation.

Alphonso took the field again as soon as he had arranged his affairs; reduced Duegnos and some other places at the foot of the Sierra Morena; effected the reduction of Alcaros after an obstinate resistance, and returned in triumph to St. Torcaz.

In the course of the next year, the king of Leon, with the assistance of some Castilian cavalry, made himself master of Alcantara, and threatened some other places with reduction: but the excessive heat of the weather delayed the execution of his designs, and obliged him to put his troops into quarters for refreshment. Soon after his return from this campaign he was deeply afflicted by the death of his heir apparent, the infant Ferdinand, whom he had by Theresa of Portugal; and this melancholy circumstance incapacitated him for some time from resuming the war.

The king of Castile being extremely solicitous for the welfare of his cousin, and supposing that he did not perceive the great advantages which might result from his entering zealously into the

war against the infidels, invited him to a friendly conference at Placentia: but before he himself arrived at that place, he was attacked by a malignant fever, which terminated his life on the sixth of August, after he had swayed the sceptre for about fifty-five years.

A. D. 1214. Don Henry succeeded his father, in the eleventh year of his age, under the protection of the queen dowager; but, as she followed her consort to the grave in about two months, the regency devolved upon the queen, Berengara, in pursuance of the late monarch's will, and with the general approbation of the nation. A powerful faction, however, was soon formed by the counts of Lara and some other nobles, and the regent was eventually persuaded to resign her office, and to leave the election of another candidate to a general assembly of the states. Hereupon Don Alvaro de Lara was chosen regent under several restrictions, and the young king was committed to his care. But no sooner was the assembly dissolved than Alvaro began to exercise unlimited authority, and to govern with a rod of iron. This conduct exasperated the people in all parts of the kingdom; the ecclesiastics thundered out excommunication against the wretch who presumed to trample on their liberties and to seize their revenues; the queen, Berengara, with some of the prime nobility, retired, in disgust, to the fortress of Autillo; and all things seemed hastening to a general insurrection.

To avoid the impending calamities, or to turn them upon the head of his opponents, was the anxious wish of Alvaro, and with this design he put a Castilian gentleman to death, on pretence

that he had been employed by Berengara to poison the king. This artifice failed of its intended effect; and, though the regent confirmed his assertion by a letter from the queen, the populace accused him of forgery, and compelled him to raise a body of forces for his personal defence. Hereupon he levied a numerous army at Valladolid; summoned Berengara and her partisans to surrender all the places they held, upon pain of being treated as rebels; and proposed a marriage between his royal pupil and the infanta of Leon, in order to preclude the interposition of that court on behalf of the queen. However, whilst Alvaro took these precautions against his adversaries, and a civil war was expected by most of the Castilians, the young king was accidentally killed, by the fall of a tile, in the third year of his reign; and the aspect of affairs was consequently changed.

Upon the first intelligence of this event, Donna Berengara sent for her son, Ferdinand, from the court of Leon, and convened an assembly of the states at Valladolid, where she was solemnly acknowledged queen of the two Castiles. She then made a solemn resignation of her crown to the infant Don Ferdinand, and caused him to be inaugurated, in the cathedral, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. As this step was taken without the knowledge of the king of Leon, that monarch felt himself offended, and actually marched into Castile, in order to revenge the affront which had been put upon his dignity: but he was soon convinced of the impropriety of his behaviour, and returned peaceably to his own dominions. A. D. 1217.

As Alvaro de Lara and his intriguing partisans yielded but a precarious obedience to their new master, the king resolved to reduce them by force, and, accordingly, raised an army which soon effected his purpose. Alvaro was taken prisoner, through his own imprudence, but he recovered his liberty by surrendering some places which were still in the hands of his dependents. He afterwards retired to Leon, and prevailed on the king of that country to invade his son's territories; but Alphonso abandoned the project at the earnest solicitation of some ecclesiastics, and the disappointed Alvaro died, soon after, of a broken heart.

A. D. 1219. Whilst the archbishop of Toledo was employed in assembling a numerous army against the infidels, Donna Berengara negociated a match between her son, and the princess Beatrix, daughter to the deceased emperor of Germany; and the marriage was solemnized, amidst general acclamations, in the cathedral of Burgos. About the same time the knights of St. Julian took possession of Alcantara, and received a grant of all places which they could wrest from the Moors, to be held as fiefs from the crown of Leon.

The archbishop of Toledo had the mortification to lose ten thousand men in a fruitless attempt upon the fortress of Requena: but the affairs of the enemy were in evident confusion, and the petty principalities which began to multiply among them, paved the way to their destruction.

The year 1221 was marked by the conjugal union of James, king of Arragon, with Donna Eleonora, aunt to the Castilian monarch; the

marriage of the infant Don Alphonso with the daughter of Gonçalez de Molina; the birth of an heir apparent to the crown of Castile; and the suppression of a rebellion in Galicia. In the ensuing year the king of Leon founded an university at Salamanca; Don Ferdinand gained some advantages over the infidels; and John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, visited the Spanish court at Burgos, and there espoused Donna Berengara, the king's sister.

Having received the homage of Aben Mohammed, and prevailed on him to surrender the castle of Baeza and the fortresses of Bergamilar, Salvatierra, and Çapilla, Ferdinand ordered the grand master of the order of Calatrava to take possession of the former, with a competent garrison, and Bergamilar and Salvatierra were evacuated without dispute: but the infidels positively refused to obey their master's orders relative to Capilla, and Mohammed was cruelly murdered on suspicion of holding a secret correspondence with the Christians. This circumstance was no sooner made public, than the inhabitants of Baeza took up arms against the new garrison, and the besiegers of Capilla were repulsed with extraordinary gallantry; but, at the expiration of four months, the infidels were totally defeated, and Capilla was taken by assault. This conquest was soon followed by another at Baeza, which was deemed remarkable, as being gained on the feast of St. Andrew, to whom its church was anciently dedicated.

Early in the ensuing spring, Ferdinand laid the first stone of a new cathedral at Toledo, which is the magnificent structure noticed by modern travellers. In the course of the same

year the marriage of the king and queen of Arragon was annulled by a papal decree; and the king of Leon, having led a numerous army into Estramadura, made himself master of Caceres, which had hitherto resisted all the attempts of himself and his predecessors. In the following year that monarch added the fortress of Merida to his important acquisitions, and obtained a decisive victory over a Moorish army of eighty thousand men; but whilst he was travelling to Compostella in order to offer up a solemn thanksgiving for his success, he was seized with a fit of illness which put a period to his life, in the forty-second year of his reign. He appears to have been a prince of great mildness, piety, and justice. He was an excellent husband, though unfortunate in both his marriages; and he was generally beloved by his subjects, though the inconstancy of his temper frequently exposed him to inconveniences.

As by the will of the deceased monarch, the infantas, Sancha and Dulcia, whom he had by Theresa of Portugal, were declared co-heiresses of his dominions; and as the states had solemnly sworn to the succession of Ferdinand, great disputes arose among the nobility, and Leon was threatened with all the calamities of a civil war: but, on the voluntary resignation of the princesses in favour of Ferdinand, the public anxiety was tranquillized, and the conjunction of the two kingdoms under the Castilian monarch was deemed equally glorious to the sovereign and advantageous to the people.

A. D. 1231. As soon as the settlement of the kingdom of Leon was completed, Don Ferdinand concluded a treaty of alli-

ance with the king of Portugal; quelled a dangerous insurrection in Galicia; and granted several Moorish conquests to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo. His brother, Alphonso, also ravaged the territories of Seville and Cordova, and gained a glorious victory over a numerous army of infidels with the loss of only one of his soldiers.

Next year Don Ferdinand took the field in person, and added the cities of Truxillo, Montial, and Ubeda to his former conquests; but the loss of his beloved queen, Beatrix, threw a heavy cloud over his triumph, and retarded the execution of his other military designs. At the expiration of a few months, however, his attention was roused by a proposal for the reduction of Cordova, and he entered so zealously into the scheme, that he soon found himself in possession of that important city.

Though the deceased queen had left behind her six sons, it was deemed advisable for the king to enter again into the conjugal life; and a marriage was, accordingly, negociated between him and the lady Jane, daughter to the count de Ponthieu, who had acquired an extraordinary reputation by the suavity of her temper and the purity of her morals. The solemnization of this marriage, and the renewal of a league with the king of Navarre, took up the greatest part of the year, and precluded the possibility of any important expedition against the infidels.

The great addition which had been made to his dominions, in the space of a few years, obliged the king to act with caution in his future expeditions; and induced him to preserve a regular line of fortifications, A. D. 1240.

rather than to extend his authority over such places as he might eventually be forced to evacuate. For this reason he promised lands, immunities, and various other advantages, to all persons who would settle in the towns and villages situated on his intended boundary, and he had the satisfaction of seeing his proposals embraced with avidity. About the same time the king of Murcia implored the protection of the Castilian monarch; and in the ensuing year the king of Granada consented to kiss his hand, in token of homage, to surrender the city of Jaen, to pay an annual tribute of fifty thousand pieces of gold, and to serve in his army, with a corps of auxiliaries, whenever it should be required, on condition that Ferdinand should afford him protection against his enemies, and guarantee his present possessions.

Having obtained the pope's permission for levying the third of the tenths of all his ecclesiastics for the prosecution of the war, and having caused a fleet to be built and equipped under the direction of one of his ablest officers, Ferdinand resolved to make an attempt on the important city of Seville. Accordingly he blocked it up both by sea and land, notwithstanding the furious opposition of the Moors, and continued the siege with such vigour and resolution for several months, that the inhabitants were, at length, compelled to capitulate. The king made his public entry into this new conquest on the twenty-third of November 1248, and the remainder of the year was spent in purifying the churches and re-peopling the city, which was totally evacuated by the infidels.

Notwithstanding the long series of fatigues

which Ferdinand had undergone in this and former expeditions, he took the field early in the ensuing spring, and swept all the places which still remained in the enemy's hands, from Seville to the fall of the Guadalquiver. He then made preparations for carrying the war into Africa; and actually obtained a victory over the Moorish fleet which had been fitted out for the protection of the coast: but the execution of his grand design was retarded by his infirmities, and the consciousness of his approaching dissolution induced him to settle the domestic affairs of his kingdom, and to employ himself in acts of piety and humiliation. He is said to have died of a dropsy in the thirty-fifth year of his reign; and his remains were interred, with great solemnity, in the cathedral church of Seville.

Alphonso X. who, for his love of literature, was surnamed the Wise, succeeded his father, with the general approbation of the people; and prosecuted the war against the infidels with extraordinary zeal: but, as he was obliged, on this occasion, to debase his coin, great murmurings were excited in various parts of his dominions. However, the pope granted a crusade in order to facilitate the African expedition; and the attention of the Castilians was agreeably engaged by the marriage of their infanta Eleonora, with prince Edward of England. About the same time the king bestowed the hand of his natural daughter, Beatrix de Guzman, on the king of Portugal; and chastised a revolt which had broken out on the frontiers. A. D. 1252.

Alphonso seems to have been extremely desirous of asserting his right to the duchy of Suabia, and of obtain- A. D. 1275.

ing the imperial dignity; and he actually prevailed on several Italian states and princes to approve his design: but, after a prodigious waste of toil and money, he was obliged to abandon this enterprize, and to apply himself to the protection of his hereditary territories, which had been convulsed by the revolt of his own brother, Don Henry, and which were still threatened with the most serious calamities by the intrigues of the recently subjugated infidels. However, he acted with such vigilance and resolution, that his treacherous relative was compelled to flee into Barbary; the Moorish kings of Murcia and Granada were chastised with exemplary rigour; and several places of importance were taken, and re-peopled either with the subjects of the conqueror, or with those of his ally, the king of Arragon.

Had the king, at this juncture, resigned his pretensions to Germany, he might have recovered his former reputation, restored the grandeur of his crown, and prevented those commotions which, afterward, shook the very basis of his authority; but he persisted in his resolution, though the expediency of resignation had been forcibly urged both to him, and his competitor the earl of Cornwall, and the German princes had agreed with the king of Bohemia to proceed to a new election. On the eighth of September, the infant Don Ferdinand espoused, by proxy, the princess Blanche at St. Germains en Laye, and in the ensuing spring the marriage was solemnized, with extraordinary pomp, at Burgos.

A. D. 1470. Whilst Alphonso was labouring, by every possible expedient, to raise money for the accomplishment of his favourite

design, a dangerous conspiracy was formed against him by several Castilian nobles, who soon retired to the king of Granada, and demanded succours from the king of Morocco. However, this unhappy affair was eventually compromised, and the mutual preparations for hostilities were laid aside.

This storm was no sooner overblown than Alphonso received the disagreeable intelligence that Rodolph of Hapsburg was elected emperor of Germany, and that this election was sanctioned by the pope. After a short deliberation, he resolved to demand an interview with the sovereign pontiff who was then at Baucaire; and accordingly set out on his journey, leaving the government of Leon and Castile in the hands of his son Ferdinand. This action proved remarkably unfortunate; for, during the king's absence, the Moors received some powerful reinforcements from Africa, with which they gained some important advantages over the Castilians; the infant Ferdinand contracted a fever in the campaign, which soon put a period to his existence; the archbishop of Toledo and Don Nugnez de Lara were slain by the infidels; and Alphonso was obliged to return without effecting his purpose relative to the affairs of Germany.

Upon the arrival of Alphonso in his own dominions, his second son, Don Sancho, who had just concluded a truce with the Moors, demanded that he should be declared heir apparent to the crown, in preference to the issue of his eldest brother. This proposal was laid before an assembly of the states at Segovia, and granted, without opposition. However, the king of France interposed on behalf of

A. D. 1275.

his daughter's children, and resented so highly the conduct of Alphonso that he would immediately have had recourse to the sword, had not that design been retarded by the interference of his nobility.

The queen of Castile was so deeply mortified at the slight which had been put upon the memory of her eldest son, by the late edict, that she took the first opportunity of returning to her father's court at Arragon; where also the princess Blanche and the two infants sought an asylum. This retreat roused the king's indignation; and Sancho expressed his rage by putting his uncle Frederic and Don Simon Reuz de los Cameres to death, because those noblemen had been privy to the queen's design. After some time, however, the quarrel in the royal family was compromised; the queen consented to return to her royal consort; the princess Blanche returned into France; and the two infants remained under the protection of the king of Arragon.

A. D. 1277. About this time Alphonso was compelled, by pope Nicholas III. to renew the war with the infidels: his exertions, however, were attended with so little success, that he soon found it expedient to conclude a peace with the king of Morocco, though his son, Don Sancho, insisted upon carrying on hostilities against the crown of Granada.

As his affairs, at this juncture, were in a distracted situation, Alphonso convened an assembly of the states at Seville, where he expatiated on the necessity of raising supplies by giving a currency to copper; and observed that he had terminated all disputes with the French court,

by promising the kingdom of Murcia to the infant Don Alonso de la Cerda and his heirs, on condition of their paying homage to the kings of Castile. The proposed expedient relative to copper money was adopted, with little opposition; but, on this declaration concerning the sovereignty of Murcia, the greatest part of the members retired in disgust, and in the ensuing spring Don Sancho was solemnly invested with the regency at Valladolid, under the specious pretence that age and infirmities had rendered his father incapable of government. His brothers, Juan and Pedro, also concurred in this treasonable measure, and cruelly abandoned their parent in his old age.

Alphonso hearing of these circumstances, and finding himself deserted by the kings of Arragon, France, and Portugal, demanded assistance of the king of Morocco, who, in a short time, landed in Spain and espoused the cause of the royal sufferer. Don Sancho resolved upon opposing force to force, and acted in such an undutiful manner, that his father was induced to disinherit him by a solemn act, and to bequeath his curse both to him and his adherents: but, after several violent struggles, the infant professed a lively repentance for his conduct; and Alphonso was persuaded to revoke his malediction, a few days prior to his dissolution, which happened on the fourth of April 1284.

The character of this prince has been variously delineated, according to the tempers or prejudices of those who have undertaken to transmit his memoirs to posterity. His contemporaries, however, have asserted that he was naturally of an open and cheerful disposition, affable in con-

versation, majestic in deportment, and passionately addicted to the study of literature. He augmented several privileges which had been granted to the university of Salamanca; directed a general collection of the laws, made by himself and his predecessors, to be digested under proper titles, for the benefit of his subjects; caused a general history of Spain to be compiled in the Castilian language; and wrote some treatises, with his own hand, upon the subjects of rational philosophy, ethics, and astrology.

A. D. 1284. The commencement of Don Sancho's reign was marked by an invasion of the Moors, and some other public disturbances: but as the new king was known to punish with great severity and to reward with equal generosity, his domestic troubles were soon suppressed; and such active measures were taken against the enemy, that their king Aben Joseph was compelled to conclude a peace upon very disadvantageous terms.

Early in the ensuing year, Sancho sent for his young son Ferdinand (whom he had by Donna Maria, the daughter of his great uncle) to be solemnly acknowledged heir apparent to the throne of Castile and Leon. About the same time, he took an opportunity of regulating the affairs of Galicia; and of enacting several new laws, with the approbation of an assembly of the states, which had been convened, by his orders, in the city of Palencia.

As the king's marriage with Donna Maria had excited the anger of the pope, and as the kingdom of Castile had been long distracted by factions, so the intrigues that now broke out

among the courtiers were attended with very fatal consequences. Don Lopez de Haro made so ill an use of his accumulated titles, posts, and revenues, that he became odious to the majority of the people; Alvaro de Lara retired into Portugal, for the express purpose of raising forces against his sovereign; and the infants Don Juan and Alonso de la Cerda took every opportunity of ravaging the Castilian dominions. These circumstances involved the king in great perplexity: yet he supported himself with extraordinary firmness, and his exertions were crowned with considerable success, till, at length, he had the satisfaction to witness the death of Lopez de Haro, the arrest of Don Juan, and the defeat of Alonso de la Cerda.

Early in the spring of 1290, the kings of France and Castile had an interview at Bayonne, where it was agreed that the infants de la Cerda should possess the kingdom of Murcia, on condition of doing homage for it to the king of Castile; that Philip should use his interest with the pope for the confirmation of Sancho's marriage; and that both princes should make war upon the king of Arragon, who had assisted the malecontents in the late disturbances. However, on the accession of James to the throne of Arragon, the ancient treaty between the kingdoms was renewed; a new treaty was concluded with the king of Granada; and the troops of Aben Joseph were defeated with prodigious loss both by sea and land.

Notwithstanding the unmerited clemency which the infant Don Juan had received from the king, he soon entered into fresh intrigues, and actually offered to assist A. D. 1293.

Aben Joseph in the reduction of Teresa, which his brother had lately wrested from the infidels. His proposal was cheerfully accepted, and, with the assistance of five thousand Moorish cavalry and a suitable number of infantry, he formed the siege of Teresa. Upon this occasion he committed an act of unmanly cruelty which has stamped eternal infamy upon his name; for, on hearing that the governor of the city had a little son at nurse in a neighbouring village, he contrived to get the child into his possession, and publicly threatened to cut his throat, unless the place was immediately surrendered. This base declaration occasioning much disturbance among the garrison, Alonzo Perez de Guzman came upon the walls, and heard Don Juan repeat his threats. Don Alonso immediately drew his sword and threw it to the infant, saying, "If you, who are a prince by birth, and a Christian by education, dare to perpetrate so execrable a crime, know that I dare both to keep the town and to furnish you with a weapon." This spirited address excited the admiration of all the troops, both Moors and Christians; but it had no effect upon the obdurate Don Juan: for he immediately took up the sword, and sacrificed the helpless babe to his blind vengeance. The length of the siege gave the king an opportunity of marching to its relief: upon which the Moors returned to Morocco, and Don Juan took refuge with the king of Granada.

A. D. 1294. The king, Don Sancho, finding that his health declined rapidly, resolved to take the speediest method of arranging his concerns, previously to his expected dissolution. Accordingly he convened several of his

nobles and prelates, and made a will, by which he appointed the queen, regent and tutoress of the infant Don Ferdinand, to whom all who were present took an oath of fidelity. He afterwards removed to Toledo, where he died in the eleventh year of his reign, leaving behind him three sons, Ferdinand, Pedro, and Philip; and two daughters, Elizabeth and Beatrix.

Ferdinand IV. was solemnly inaugurated in the cathedral church of Toledo, immediately after the performance of his father's obsequies; and Donna Maria, the queen dowager, assumed the regency during his minority: but, though every possible precaution was taken for the preservation of tranquillity, the court was soon involved in perplexities, and the minds of the populace were considerably agitated by the pretensions of Don Juan and Alonso de la Cerda to the Castilian diadem; the rebellion of several powerful lords; a formidable invasion conducted by the kings of Arragon, France, Portugal, and Granada; and the loud demands of Henry, uncle to the deceased king, for the regency. A. D. 1295.

In this alarming posture of affairs, the queen resolved to make every reasonable concession, and actually resigned the government of the kingdom to Don Henry, on condition of her retaining the care of her son's person and education. She also persuaded Don Juan to lay aside his ill-founded pretensions, and lured the disaffected nobles back to their allegiance.

The national prospect was now tolerably serene, as the queen had restored tranquillity among the Castilians, and the numerous armies of invaders had achieved nothing of import-

ance: but fresh disorders were soon excited by a restless faction; Don Juan, with his intriguing adherents, again renounced their allegiance; the ungrateful rebel was proclaimed king at Leon, whilst a similar ceremony was performed for Alonso de la Cerda at Sahagun; Taufa was invested by the king of Granada; and all things seemed to conspire against the existence of the present Castilian government. At length, however, the Moors were compelled to retire into their own dominions; an amicable treaty was concluded between Ferdinand and the king of Portugal; and the attention of the Castilians was agreeably engaged by a treaty of marriage between king Ferdinand and the infanta, Donna Constantia, of Portugal, and between Alphonso, prince of Portugal, and the infanta Donna Beatrix, of Castile.

A. D. 1300. Conscious of his inability to wrest the sceptre from Ferdinand's hands, and vexed at the ill success of the confederates, Don Juan renounced his empty title of "King of Leon and Galicia," and swore to the established succession in an assembly of the states. But he still kept up a private correspondence with the king of Arragon, and carried on his intrigues with such indefatigable perseverance, that he even beguiled the young monarch, and persuaded him to leave his mother. Ferdinand, however, soon perceived the impropriety of his conduct, and his seducer's scheme was happily rendered abortive.

Shortly after this occurrence, Ferdinand solemnized his marriage with the infanta of Portugal; and the infant Don Henry died without issue, after rendering himself obnoxious to the

greatest part of the nation by the absurdity of his private and public conduct. His estates were all seized by the king, and so little respect was paid to his memory, that even the rights of sepulture were neglected till the queen generously interfered, and expressed an intention of following his remains to the tomb. "Let his funeral," said this magnanimous princess, "be suitable to his rank, for we ought to remember his birth and forget his faults."

After the war had continued for some time, with various success, between the crowns of Castile and Arragon, some overtures for peace were made by the latter, and a treaty was concluded at Campillo, by which the Castilian monarch made some considerable concessions to his opponent. The people, however, were, in all probability, anxious for peace, and these were the best terms that could then be obtained. About the same time Ferdinand referred the pretensions of the infanta de la Cerda to the kings of Arragon and Portugal, who determined that Don Alonso should have Albade, Tormes, Bejar, Valdecarneja, and several other places, the revenue of which was computed at four hundred thousand marvadies; and that Don Ferdinand should enjoy the revenue of an infant of Spain, on condition that both the princes should pay homage to the king for their respective possessions.

After some severe conflicts with Don Juan de Lara, a nobleman of high rank and consummate policy, the king resolved to renew the war against the Moors, and urged the expediency of that measure with such success, that the states of Valladolid consented A. D. 1311.

to defray the whole expence of the campaign. Accordingly, a numerous army was assembled, by the infant Don Pedro, on the frontiers of Andalusia, and the city of Alcaudeta was quickly invested. Upon the arrival of the king at this place, he received information that two persons of the name of Carvajal were in custody, and stood charged with the murder of Don Juan Alonso de Benavides. He immediately ordered the prisoners to be thrown from the summit of a rock, without any form of trial, though they assured him in the most pathetic manner of their innocence, and even offered to give the most irrefragable proofs. When this inhuman sentence was about to be executed, the sufferers summoned Ferdinand to answer for his injustice, within thirty days, at the tribunal of God. Some days after, the king was seized with an indisposition, and expired on the last day of that period.

A. D. 1312. The sudden death of Ferdinand involved the nation in fresh commotions, and excited many disputes respecting the regency and the tutelage of the young king, Alphonso, who was at this time only three years of age. At length, however, the two infants, Pedro and Juan, were declared regents with equal power; and the care of Alphonso's education was committed to his grandmother, Donna Maria, who superintended it, in the most laudable manner, for about nine years, and then died as she had lived with sentiments of unaffected piety, though her last moments were rather embittered by the contemplation of the numerous intrigues and dangers to which her beloved pupil would be exposed.

Alphonso assumed the reins of government at the age of fifteen, and exhibited an equal share of judgment and dexterity in the arrangement of his affairs. Such of the nobles as were too headstrong, or too ambitious to stoop to his authority, were put to death; but, though their infidelity merited punishment, the king rendered himself obnoxious by employing assassins rather than officers of justice to execute his vengeance. A. D. 1324.

After several disturbances had been quieted in various parts of the kingdom, Alphonso took the field against the Moors, and made himself master of Olbera and some other places, while the admiral of Castile gained a complete naval victory over a strong squadron which had been, recently, sent out from Barbary. About this time Don Juan Emanuel renounced his allegiance, and prevailed on the king of Arragon to espouse his quarrel; in consequence of which, the Castilians were overwhelmed with unparalleled calamities, and some of their richest blood was wantonly shed by the daggers of assassins, and the sword of the executioner. A. D. 1327.

In the spring of 1329, Alphonso, having espoused Donna Maria, infanta of Portugal, and concluded a necessary peace with the king of Arragon, made some considerable concessions in order to bring back Don Juan Emanuel to his allegiance, opened a new campaign against the infidels, and made himself master of Tebe, together with several little towns and castles in the vicinity.

Upon his return to Seville he engaged in an amour with Leonora de Guzman, a lady of high

quality and great endowments of mind, by whom he had a numerous issue, and on whom he lavished his whole affection while his lawful wife was scarcely treated with decent respect. Some time after the commencement of this amour, the king received Don Alonso de la Cerda into favour; instituted a new order of knighthood, called the Order of the Band; and concluded a truce with the Moors, who had distressed his subjects beyond measure, and made themselves masters of the important fortress of Gibraltar.

In the summer of 1335 the Castilian troops were called into action by an unprovoked irruption of Henry de Solis, viceroy of Navarre; and the king was threatened with the direst calamities by the new intrigues of Don Juan Emanuel and Don Juan de Lara: but the invader was soon repulsed with great slaughter, and the two traitors were first proscribed in an assembly of the states, and afterwards persuaded to elude destruction by making due submission to their injured sovereign.

A. D. 1339. Abul Assan, king of Morocco, hearing that his son, Abul Malic, had fallen in an encounter with the Castilians, assembled a numerous fleet and army in order to revenge his death, and commenced hostilities with a degree of fury expressive of implacable resentment. The Castilian fleet was totally unable to resist the invaders, and fell a sacrifice in an unequal conflict; and the city of Tarefa was reduced to great distress by the united exertions of the kings of Morocco and Granada. At length, however, the king of Portugal marched to his son-in-law's assistance; the king of Arragon sent a fleet, for the same purpose, under the

command of Don Pedro de Moncado; and a battle ensued, in which the Moorish princes were defeated with the loss of two hundred thousand men.

Notwithstanding his ill success in this campaign, the king of Morocco still persisted in his sanguinary intentions, and seemed determined to return once more into Spain. Hereupon Alphonso formed the important project of reducing Algeriza, and, though every possible exertion was made against him by the enemy, it was at length surrendered, by the kings of Morocco and Granada, and the Castilian banner was displayed upon the walls, to the immortal honour of this warlike prince and his faithful nobles. A. D. 1341.

The peace which followed this memorable exploit proved to be of short duration; and the military order of Alphonso prompted him to undertake the recovery of Gibraltar, which had been unfortunately lost during his minority. This project, having been approved in an assembly of the states, was immediately put in execution, and the siege was continued for twelve months with unremitting assiduity on the part of the Castilians, whilst the king of Morocco was prevented, by some domestic commotions, from attempting any thing for its relief. But at the very juncture when the garrison began to think of capitulating, a plague broke out in the Christian camp, and Alphonso fell a sacrifice to its fury on the 26th of March, 1349, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign.

The Castilian diadem now devolved upon Don Pedro, the only surviving son of Alphonso and the queen. This prince, A. D. 1349.

ough only sixteen years of age, commenced
s reign with such cruel and sanguinary mea-
ures as induced his subjects to brand him with
he epithet of "Cruel." Leonora de Guzman
was basely murdered, at the queen mother's re-
quest, in the very act of embracing her unfortu-
nate children; Garcilasso de la Vega, son to the
chancellor of Burgos, was assassinated by the
royal command; the estates of Don Nunez de
Lara were confiscated without the least shadow
of justice; and the remonstrances of the states,
and the salutary advice of his grandfather, the
king of Portugal, were equally despised and dis-
regarded by the new sovereign.

Don Pedro appears to have acted, upon all
occasions, in the most cruel and tyrannical man-
ner, insomuch that friends, relatives, ministers,
and allies, were frequently sacrificed without
pity or distinction. He appears, however, to
have been susceptible of love, and to have bowed
in admiration before the shrine of beauty; for
he became so violently enamoured of a lady of
quality, named Maria de Padilla, that his most
infamous courtiers converted his passion to their
private advantages; and his subjects generally
believed him to be under the immediate power
of witchcraft.

Maria de Padilla was easily persuaded to be-
come Pedro's mistress, though the queen dow-
ager was actually treating of a marriage for her
son with Donna Blanca, daughter of the duke of
Bourbon, and the nuptials were, soon after, so-
lemnized between the king and that heiress.
However, the concubine retained her dominion
over the heart of her royal lover, and the unfor-

tunate bride was sentenced first to solitary imprisonment, and afterward to death.

These violent proceedings excited the murmurs of the people; and even the queen mother, with several of the prime nobility, were so exasperated at his repeated cruelties that they determined to renounce their allegiance, and fortified themselves in the city of Torro. Pedro, however, took such active measures, and invested the place so quickly, that they were soon compelled to surrender, and such a number of victims were sacrificed to the king's resentment, that the queen dowager fainted at the horrid spectacle, and was removed to the palace in a state of insensibility.

Shortly after the reduction of Torro, a war broke out between the crowns of Castile and Arragon; and, though Pedro gained some considerable advantages in the first campaign, his measures were, in a great measure frustrated by his own imprudence. The rebellion of Don Juan de la Cerda, and Alvaro Perez de Guzman, seems to have inflamed his resentment, at this time, to a pitch of ungovernable fury; and he was so extremely irritated at the escape of some prisoners whom he had marked out for destruction, that he actually glutted his revenge with the blood of his own brother Don Frederic, and of his cousin Don Juan de Arragon, each of whom was inhumanly butchered in the royal apartments. In the following year he caused his aunt, Donna Leonora, to be put to death; ordered the widow of Don Juan, infant of Arragon, to be taken off by poison; and ordered a priest to be burnt alive for having presumed to warn him of his approaching fate. His treasurer, Samuel Levi, was also butchered A. D. 1356.

for no other reason than that the king might have an opportunity of appropriating his immense riches to his own use.

Mohammed Barbarossa, king of Granada, having made an irruption into the Castilian territories, Pedro concluded a peace with Arragon, in order to revenge this insult; and prosecuted the new war with such vigour, that Mohammed soon found it impossible to resist his arms, and resolved to elude destruction by a timely submission. With this intention he went in person to Seville, and was received with apparent cordiality: but the superb apparel of his attendants, and the report of his own wealth, had such an effect upon the avaricious mind of Pedro, that the new vassal was suddenly proclaimed a traitor, exposed to public derision, and eventually massacred, with all his attendants.

A. D. 1361. About this time, died Maria Padilla, leaving one son and three daughters to the protection of her lover. Pedro was desirous of legitimating these children, and carried his design, in an assembly of the states, by asserting that he had espoused their mother previously to his marriage with Donna Blanca. Three witnesses were produced in support of this declaration; and Don Alphonso was acknowledged heir to the crown: but that prince was soon summoned away by the angel of death; and the king was so deeply afflicted at his loss, that he settled all his affairs under the apprehension of falling a victim to unconquerable grief.

Meanwhile, Henry de Transtamare, having escaped from the hands of his unnatural brother, and obtained the protection of Charles V. king of France, collected a prodigious number of ad-

venturers for the conquest of Castile, under the banners of Bertrand du Guesclin, and Count de la Marche, whom he appointed heads of the expedition. Some English officers also tendered their assistance, and the king of Arragon embraced with ardour the scheme of deposing his cruel enemy. Pedro exerted all his abilities against the invaders, and carried on hostilities, for some time, with tolerable success; but his efforts were at length overpowered, and Henry was solemnly placed on the throne of Castile.

Pedro was no sooner assured that his rival had mounted the throne, than he retired to Guienne, and implored the assistance of Edward, surnamed the Black Prince. Edward cheerfully accepted an offer which might counterbalance the glory of the French, and gave his suppliant a body of troops which soon reinstated him in all his dignities; but his competitor soon found means to raise new auxiliaries, and a battle was fought, in the spring of 1369, between the two brothers, which proved fatal to Don Pedro; for the forces of that prince were quickly defeated, and he was dispatched by the incensed victor, and his attendants. This monster of cruelty died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign. He left behind him one hundred and fifty millions, in gold and silver, besides an immense treasure in plate and jewels; and had issue by two concubines besides Maria Padilla.

Don Henry took immediate possession of his brother's dominions, though his pretensions were disputed by many of the Castilian nobles, and he was threatened with a formidable invasion by the kings of Portugal, Arragon, and Granada. To an ordinary mind A. D. 1368.

these obstacles might have appeared insuperable: but Henry acted with such prudence in the cabinet, and such heroism in the field, that his enemies were eventually compelled to solicit a peace; and he found himself sufficiently powerful to make a claim upon the Portuguese diadem in right of a princess whom he had married. This claim occasioned some hostilities, by which the generality of the people were necessarily sufferers: but these were soon terminated; and Henry retained the Castilian sceptre with great glory for ten years. Historians are much divided in their opinions of his death, some affirming that he fell a victim to a natural disease, and others asserting that he was taken off by poison.

A. D. 1379. Don Juan succeeded his father without opposition, and was solemnly crowned, with his consort Leonora, in the city of Burgos. He resembled the deceased prince exceedingly in his temper, and exerted himself upon all occasions to protect his subjects in the full enjoyment of peace: yet he exhibited great courage in repressing the attacks of his enemies, and acquired a considerable degree of reputation by the prudence and execution of his military designs. On the decease of his first queen he espoused the infanta Donna Beatrix of Portugal; and by that marriage acquired a title to the dominions of his father-in-law Ferdinand.

Shortly after the celebration of his second nuptials, the king was informed that his brother Alphonso had shaken off his allegiance, and fortified himself in Gijon. Accordingly he hastened to invest that place, and soon compelled the traitor to surrender. About the same time it was agreed, in an assembly of the states, that the era

of Cæsar, which had been hitherto used, should be laid aside for that of Christ.

Upon the twenty-second of October, 1383, Portugal was involved in confusion by the death of Ferdinand, and Don Juan determined to assert his right to the crown by force of arms: but, after several sanguinary conflicts, he was obliged to abandon his enterprise, and his own dominions were, soon afterwards, invaded by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. This invader, however, consented to withdraw his pretensions, on condition that the infant Don Henry should espouse one of the duke's daughters; that six hundred thousand pieces of gold should be paid for the expences of the war; that the duchess of Lancaster should receive forty thousand franks per annum; and that the heir apparent to the crown of Castile should bear the title of "Prince of Asturias."

Shortly after the cessation of hostilities, Juan erected a new order of knighthood, which he styled that of the "Holy Ghost." He also exerted himself successfully to obtain the dismissal of some Christians of distinction from the city of Morocco; and had the satisfaction of receiving their grateful acknowledgments, on the road to Burgos: but, whilst he was attending with great delight, to some equestrian exercises, he was unfortunately thrown by his own horse, and crushed to death. Such was the unfortunate end of a monarch who was universally celebrated for his justice and munificence, and who, upon one occasion, offered to resign his crown, under the idea that his people were not sufficiently happy in his administration. A. D. 1390.

Henry III. had scarcely entered the eleventh year of his age, when he succeeded his father on the throne of Castile. The treasury was, at this time, burthened with the maintenance of six princesses, besides the children of Pedro the Cruel; and the intrigues of the duke de Benavente were extremely perplexing to the regency. Henry, therefore, resolved to assume the management of affairs, and, in the thirteenth year of his age, espoused the princess Catherine of Lancaster, pursuant to the will of his deceased parent. He then endeavoured to make some retrenchments in the splendid establishments of the royal family, and, though this measure excited great disturbances, he carried his point, and compelled the rebellious princes and nobles to submit to his authority. He also renewed the truce which Don Juan had concluded with the king of Granada; and effectually suppressed some factions which had disturbed the public tranquillity of Murcia.

A. D. 1403. In consequence of the surprisal of Badajos, and a hostile attempt upon Albuquerque, Don Henry resolved to make war upon Portugal, and made some great preparations, for that purpose, both by land and sea: in the course of a few months, however, he was prevailed on to conclude a truce for ten years, and turned his arms against the corsairs of Barbary, who had long given great annoyance to the Castilians. In the summer of 1401 the king received an embassy from Tamerlane the Great; and in the following year, his brother, Don Ferdinand, instituted a new order of knighthood, which he called de la Jarra, because the device was a jar, or flower-pot, filled with lilies.

In the spring of 1404, the king convened an assembly of the states at Madrid, and caused some new laws to be enacted for moderating the exorbitant usury which had been hitherto taken by the Jews; and for obliging the concubines of priests to wear a mark of distinction upon their head dress. In the course of this year he built the royal palace of Madrid, which was afterwards destroyed by fire; the alcazal of Murcia; and the pleasant country villa called Pardo.

Whilst Henry was employed in adorning and providing for the security of his dominions, the Moors seemed disposed to renew hostilities, and, after some time, the king of Granada laid siege to Guezada with an army of four thousand horse, and twenty-five thousand foot. The invader, however, was repulsed with considerable loss, and Don Henry began to entertain a hope of subverting the Moorish kingdom; but whilst he was projecting a scheme for the extirpation of the infidels, he died of a slow poison which had been either ignorantly or maliciously administered by a Jewish physician. His funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost solemnity, and the generality of his subjects deplored him, with tears of real distress, as one of the best and most indulgent princes that had ever swayed the Castilian sceptre.

Don Juan II. was but fourteen months old at the time of his father's death, but he found a sincere friend in the person of his uncle Ferdinand, who indignantly rejected some base insinuations of the nobles, and avowed his intention of supporting the interests of the young sovereign to the utmost of his ability.

The Moors hoped to have taken advantage of the king's minority, and exerted themselves so vigorously that they brought an army of eighty thousand combatants into the field: but Ferdinand repulsed them with great success, and the combined squadrons of Tunis and Tremecen were utterly defeated by the Castilians. The king of Granada, however, continued to levy fresh forces, and resolved to attempt the reduction of Alcaudeta; but his army was soon compelled to raise the siege, and he solicited a truce for eight months, which was readily granted, and afterwards extended at the request of his successor.

Towards the close of the year 1412, Don Ferdinand was elected to fill the throne of Arragon, and immediately repaired to Saragossa, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed with due solemnity. He met, indeed, with a formidable opposition from the count de Urgel: but, by the assistance of some Castilian forces, he humbled his competitor's ambition, and established himself firmly in his new dominions. However, he did not long enjoy his new dignity; for he died on the second of April, 1416, leaving the crown to his son Alphonso. By the demise of this amiable prince the regency of Castile devolved solely upon the queen dowager, who made choice of a council to assist her in the administration, and continued to instruct her son in the best manner that was possible amidst the cabals by which he was surrounded. This princess died on the first of June 1418, and her son, though only in his twelfth year, was proclaimed of full age, and married to Donna Maria, daughter of the king of Arragon.

Shortly after he had assumed the government, the king fell into the hands of his cousin, Henry of Arragon, who, on pretence of providing for his safety, detained him prisoner at Tordesillas, till he was liberated by Don Alvarez de Luna, constable of Castile, who, afterwards, became his particular favourite and adviser. A. D. 1419.

The behaviour of Don Henry on this occasion inspired the king with the utmost rage, and induced him to throw the offender into confinement; the infant Don Juan was also compelled to disband his troops; and the misunderstanding rose so high between the crowns of Castile and Arragon, that military preparations were made on both sides. The commencement of hostilities, however, was delayed; and a treaty was at length concluded, by which Don Henry was to be set at liberty, and restored to his possessions, and the circumstance of his imprisonment was to be forgiven by the king of Arragon.

Scarcely had the two monarchs executed this treaty, before the Castilian nobles began to clamour against Alvaro de Luna, and carried their accusations to such a pitch, that the king was obliged to banish his favourite from court: yet the turbulent lords were dissatisfied, and, after several violent disputes, the constable was recalled by a majority of voices. This occurrence was followed by a sanguinary war between the crowns of Castile and Arragon, and some formidable exertions of the Castilian malecontents: but the king, Don Juan, was generally victorious, and eventually obtained a peace upon honourable terms.

Anxious to render some important service to his country, and to acquire a greater degree of military reputation, Don Juan resolved to turn his arms upon the infidels, and took the earliest opportunity of coming to a general engagement. Accordingly he appeared, at the head of a numerous army, in the plains of Granada, and defeated the enemy, with the loss of thirty thousand men. In the course of the same year, the conqueror concluded an advantageous treaty with the king of Portugal; and caused the king of Granada to be dethroned by Joseph Ben Muley, grandson of that unfortunate prince who perished by the tyrannical command of Pedro the Cruel.

After some obstinate conflicts with Don Juan de Soto, grand master of Alcantara, the infants Henry and Pedro, and other malecontents, the king renewed hostilities against the Moors with tolerable success; but though he triumphed repeatedly over these formidable enemies, and concluded an advantageous peace with the kings of Arragon and Navarre, his dominions were literally convulsed by factions, and a spirit of rebellion seemed to reign predominant among his people: fresh clamours were also raised against Alvaro de Luna; the queen concurred in the measures of the rebel chiefs; the prince of Asturias took up arms against his royal father, and twice made him prisoner; many of the principal nobles were arrested, proscribed, and executed; and Don Alvarez, who had never been remiss in his duty upon these critical occasions, was eventually abandoned by his patron, and doomed to perish by the hands of a public executioner.

This sacrifice of the grand master of St. Jago and high constable, was accompanied with great pomp, in order to make the stronger impression on the spectators. The scaffold was erected in one of the most public places in Valladolid, and upon a table stood a crucifix, between two lighted flambeaux. When the sentence of death was read to the prisoner, he acknowledged that his sins had merited a severer punishment, and reminded one of his attendants, that his hat and ring, which he presented to him in a most affectionate manner, were the last favours he had to bestow. He then questioned the executioner respecting the use of a high pole with an iron hook affixed to the top of it, and, on being informed that his head was to be placed upon it, he exclaimed, "You may do as you please with my remains; for no death can be shameful which is supported with courage and intrepidity." After expressing a wish that the prince of Asturias might not follow the example of the reigning monarch, in remunerating his old servants, he laid himself upon a carpet, and, without the least apparent emotion, submitted his throat to the executioner's poniard. His head was then severed from his body, and exposed to the view of the populace. His remains were interred at St. Andrew's, where criminals were usually buried: but permission was, afterwards, granted to remove them to the church of St. Francis in Valladolid, and from thence to St. James's chapel, belonging to the cathedral of Toledo, which was of his own foundation.

The king, Don Juan, is said to have expressed much regret at the loss of this minister: for he soon found that instead of silencing the cabals

of his courtiers by so great a sacrifice, he had lessened his own power of curbing their insolence, and he was eventually induced to keep a guard of eight thousand lances about his own person. These circumstances preyed considerably upon his spirits, and threw him into a fever, which put a period to his mortal existence on the twenty first of July 1453.

A. D. 1453. Henry IV. took possession of the vacant throne, immediately after the performance of his father's obsequies; and affected, by his behaviour as a sovereign, to obliterate all recollection of the actions which had been perpetrated by the prince of Asturias. He liberated some persons of distinction from prison; renewed the ancient alliance with the court of France; regulated the treaty of accommodation which had been begun between his predecessor and the queen of Arragon; and contrived to negociate a marriage with Donna Joanna, infanta of Portugal, though that princess was no stranger to the suspicions which had been excited among the Spaniards by the dissolution of his former marriage with the infanta of Navarre.

The spring of 1454 opened with an expedition against the Moors; but nothing was accomplished worthy of particular narration. The king then resolved on an excursion to the coast of Barbary, and accomplished his design, though not without much difficulty and danger. During his absence a confederacy was formed, among some of the Castilian lords, to procure a reformation in the government, and he had the mortification to hear his conduct loudly condemned as altogether unworthy the name and

character of a sovereign prince. However, he thought it advisable to adopt lenient measures, and promised that all grievances should be redressed, provided the progress of the war against the infidels were not impeded. This declaration seemed to produce its desired success; for the states consented to carry on hostilities against the enemies of their religion; and a dangerous rebellion which had been raised, in Murcia, by Don Alonso Fijardo, was happily suppressed.

Henry, however, was conscious of meriting the contempt of his nobles, and laboured to shield himself from the effects of their resentment by raising up new families to considerable posts of honour, supposing that gratitude would unquestionably follow such signal marks of favour. With this view he made Michael Luc his secretary, constable, though the towns which he assigned for his revenue refused to acknowledge their new master; bestowed the mastership of Alcantara on Gomez de Solis, a gentleman of decayed fortunes; and made Bernard de la Cueva, master of his household.

The generality of historians have agreed that Henry IV. was justly suspected of impotence, and his own subjects were of opinion, that the infanta Donna Joanna, who was born in the year 1461, was in reality the fruit of an illicit commerce between the queen and Bernard de la Cueva, the king's chief favourite. Henry was extremely anxious to persuade the people into a contrary belief, and caused the infanta to be solemnly acknowledged heiress of the crown; but many of the nobles treated this proceeding with the utmost con- A. D. 1461.

tempt, and even called the young princess, "Bertraneja, or the little Bertrand."

The court of Castile seems to have been a theatre of contention between the two principal favourites, Bernard de la Cueva, and the marquis de Villena; as the king evidently delighted in exciting them against each other by bestowing the spoils of the one upon the other, according as he withheld or lavished his kindness. At length, however, Villena triumphed over his competitor, though he endeavoured to advance the interests of Bertraneja, by advising Henry to bestow his sister, in marriage, on the king of Portugal. Isabella replied, "that she would never marry without the consent of the states of Castile:" upon which Villena caused both her and her brother Alphonso to retire from the court, and, soon after, gratified his resentment by favouring a league which had been formed against his weak master.

While the king was overwhelmed with consternation at the idea of a general revolt, the confederates caused a spacious theatre to be erected in the great plain that lies on one side of Avila, so that all the multitude resorting thither might have a clear view and comprehension of the whole business. Upon a magnificent throne, in the centre of the stage, sat the figure of Don Henry with a diadem on his head, a sceptre in his hand, and the royal robe on his shoulders. After a pause of considerable length, a herald came forward and read a declaration containing the motives which were accounted sufficient for depriving him of the regal dignity. Whilst the herald was thus employed, the archbishop of Toledo, the marquis de Villena, the grand mas-

ter of Alcantara, and three other persons of distinction, stripped the image of all the royal ornaments, and kicked it away from the throne, adding the most abusive and contumelious language. The infant Don Alphonso was then placed on the throne with all possible solemnity; all the prelates and nobles who were present did homage to him; the standards were displayed in his name; the trumpets sounded; and the plain of Avila resounded with exclamations of "Castile! Castile! Long live the king, Don Alphonso of Castile and Leon!"

After this extravagant act of rebellion, the archbishop of Toledo proposed marching, at the head of a numerous army to crush the king at Salamanca: but the marquis de Villena started several objections against that motion, and gave notice to Don Henry to be upon his guard. The archbishop was much displeased at his nephew's subsequent conduct; but Villena contrived, by a master-stroke of policy, to reinstate himself in his good opinion. The king also recovered the favour of the confederates, by promising to give his sister to Don Pedro de Giron, Villena's brother; but whilst the preparations were making for the nuptials, the intended bridegroom was summoned to a future state, and Isabella rejoiced in her deliverance from such an unequal union.

Notwithstanding the death of Giron, the suspension of arms between the king and the malecontents continued; and he was at length re-established on the throne by the demise of the young Alphonso, which, though extremely sudden does not appear to have been occasioned by unfair means.

This accident was no sooner made public than the archbishop of Toledo and the grand master of St. James conducted the infanta, Donna Isabella, to Avila, and offered to place the crown upon her head; but she modestly declined their proposal, reminding them that the Castilian diadem was held from God by the laws, and observing that they would render her a more acceptable service by prevailing on the king to declare her presumptive heiress of his dominions. This intimation was received with the utmost applause; Henry was informed of his sister's loyal inclinations; and the succession was, soon afterward, altered in favour of Isabella.

The marriage of the royal heiress was now the chief object of consideration, as upon that must necessarily depend the lustre of the crown and the tranquillity of the nation. Don Juan, king of Arragon, earnestly desired to procure the princess for his son Don Ferdinand, whom he had recently invested with the sovereignty of Sicily; the king of Portugal sent an ambassador to demand the infanta's hand; and a similar proposal arrived soon after from the duke of Berry. Isabella quickly fixed her choice, and, by the assistance of the archbishop of Toledo, was married to the king of Sicily at the cathedral of Valladolid. Don Henry was highly incensed at this measure, which had been taken without his privity; and expressed his resentment, soon after, by issuing out an edict which annulled the treaty of accommodation with Isabella, and declared the right of succession to be in the infanta Donna Joanna. By the advice of Villena, that princess was betrothed to the duke of Berry, but he died be-

fore the nuptials could be celebrated: a new scheme was set on foot for marrying her to Don Henry, of Arragon; but this also was rendered abortive, and the marquis de Villena went in person to Portugal with the hope of effecting an union between Bertraneja and the sovereign of that kingdom.

Towards the close of 1473 a temporary reconciliation was effected between the king and his sister, and the king of Sicily was politely invited to Segovia; but Villena soon inspired his master with fresh prejudices, and exerted his talents so successfully, that both the princess and her husband would have been arrested, if the former had not found an asylum in the citadel of Segovia, and the latter saved himself by a precipitate retreat.

The marquis de Villena exerted all his eloquence to accomplish his design with respect to Donna Joanna, and he, at length, brought the Portuguese monarch to promise that he would accept the proposal, if he could arrange affairs in such a manner as to afford any probability of success. Villena, however, was soon carried off by a disorder in the throat, and his death was quickly followed by that of his royal patron.

Don Henry had been, for some time, in a languishing state of health; and the appearance of his approaching dissolution induced his physicians to put him in mind of preparing to leave the world. Upon this intimation, cardinal Mendoza, the count de Benavente, and the young marquis de Villena, were summoned to court; where the king confessed and received the sacrament. On being A. D. 1474.

asked whom he had declared heir to his dominions, who were the executors of his will, and where he desired to be buried, he replied, that Donna Joanna was his sole heiress; that the executors whom he had chosen were cardinal Mendoza, the marquis de Villena, and the counts of Placentia and Benavente; and that he wished his remains to be deposited near those of his mother, in the convent of Guadalupe. The exertion which attended these observations threw him into an agony of body, and he expired, after a few hours, in the twentieth year of his reign.

Henry IV. surnamed the Impotent, is said, by the Spanish historians, to have been pious and religious; but his behaviour toward his father, his indolent disposition, and want of application, obscured his good qualities if he really possessed any. Though he does not seem to have been cruel by nature, he caused a dreadful effusion of blood by his indiscretion; and it must certainly be acknowledged, that if he wished to be a good king he made no effort to become so.

Upon the demise of this prince, the crowns of Castile and * Arragon were happily united in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, and all the

* Arragon, which was first erected into a kingdom by Don Sancho the Great in the year 1135, and continued under a regular succession of princes for the space of three hundred and thirty-nine years, was perpetually engaged in wars with the infidels, or in disputes with the crown of Castile, as appears in the preceding pages. However, it gradually acquired importance; and, at the time of Ferdinand's accession to the Castilian dominions, it was very considerable in point of territory, commerce, and maritime power.

Christian principalities in Spain found themselves under one sceptre, as will appear in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

From the Union of the Spanish Kingdoms, to the Abdication of Charles I. commonly called the Emperor Charles V.

THE news of Don Henry's death was no sooner made public than Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella were proclaimed, at Segovia, amidst loud acclamations; and the fidelity of their new subjects enabled them to defeat all the designs of their enemies. The marquis of Villena took every possible precaution for the security of the infanta Joanna; the king of Portugal entered Castile at the head of an army, and assumed the titles to which he pretended in right of his betrothed wife; and the country began to languish under the horrors of a civil war; but Villena's policy was eventually confounded, the malecontents were reduced to obedience, and the Portuguese invaders were repulsed with considerable loss. A. D. 1474.

In the spring of 1478, Don Ferdinand was obliged, in consequence of his father's death, to make a tour into his hereditary dominions; and the weight of the Castilian government was entirely supported, during his absence, by Donna Isabella. That princess, however, acted with the utmost prudence and vigilance; and carried

on the war with such resolution, that the king of Portugal thought proper to purchase a peace at the expence of his ambition; and the infanta Joanna retired into a monastery.

Ferdinand and Isabella were certainly persons of great prudence, and admirably adapted to govern those extensive territories which had long groaned beneath the ill effects of contending parties and divided powers: yet they do not seem to have merited all the praises which have been lavished upon their characters by Spanish historians. They did not live like man and wife, but rather like two sovereign princes in close alliance; they seemed to be united rather by the bonds of interest than the silken chains of love, and they were frequently jealous of each other in the administration, though they generally acted upon the same principles and forwarded the same purposes.

The first object of their attention, subsequent to the peace with Portugal, was the regulation of the government, which the late civil wars had thrown into the most dreadful confusion. Rapine, outrage, and murder, had become so common in most parts of the country, that commerce was interrupted, and even the intercourse between distant towns was, in a great measure, suspended. These evils were therefore suppressed by the timely interposition of the sovereigns, and the spirits of the Castilians were revived by the institution of several requisite and salutary laws: but whilst their catholic majesties were thus employed in giving vigour to their government and tranquillity to their people, an intemperate zeal led them to introduce an ecclesiastical tribunal into their dominions, which

was equally disgraceful to human nature, and inconsistent with the mild spirit of Christianity. This was the court of inquisition, which was authorized, by the Roman pontiff, to decide upon the liberty, fortune, and life of any individual who should be accused of holding heretical opinions, or of expressing any contempt for the ceremonies of the church, without his being allowed to offer a defence, or even to be confronted with his accuser. Two thousand persons are said to have suffered death under Torquemada, the first inquisitor general; and a prodigious number of Jews and Mahometans quitted the country with precipitation in order to elude a similar fate.

The augmenting strength of the Spanish government announced to the Moors their sure destruction; and their catholic majesties made formidable preparations for the reduction of Granada, which now alone remained of all the Mahometan possessions in Spain. To this attempt they were equally induced by a thirst of fame and an ardent desire of planting the Christian faith in that fertile territory; a crusade was readily granted by the pope for the accomplishment of that desirable project; and the unhappy dissensions which prevailed among the Moors facilitated the design of their formidable enemies. Ferdinand marched into the Moorish dominions at the head of a numerous army, and, with the assistance of his royal consort, gained some important advantages: the cities of Malaga, Baza, Guadix, and Almeria, were successively taken; all communication with Africa was totally cut off; and the city of Granada was invested, after

a sanguinary war of several years continuance, by the Christian forces.

Every reader who is possest of the least sentiment of humanity must commiserate the sad fate of the unfortunate Moors, who were, at this juncture, distressed by a scarcity of provisions, crowded together in one city, and besieged by an army of seventy thousand men. Conscious of their approaching ruin, and rendered frantic by despair, they sometimes assembled in tumultuous crowds to implore the assistance of their prophet, to load their unfortunate king with execrations, or to weep in indescribable anguish over the tombs of their ancestors: sometimes they rushed out with unbridled fury upon the Christians, as if anxious to meet the death which they all expected; and sometimes they sunk into a stupor through mere weariness, and seemed entirely regardless of their fate. After a siege of eight months, however, the place was surrendered, on condition that the inhabitants should retain possession of their houses and inheritances, and enjoy the exercise of their religion, and that the king, Abdali, should receive the revenues of some fertile territories in the mountains of Alpujarros. Thus the important fortress of Granada, after having been held by the Moors near seven hundred and eighty years, was again brought under the power of the Christians, and the banner of the cross, together with the standards of St. James and Castile, were triumphantly displayed on the towers of the Alhambra.

After delineating the lively distress of the Moors during the siege of their capital, it is

but justice to remark that Ferdinand and Isabella frequently employed indulgence, clemency, and persuasion, to facilitate their designs; that they readily permitted any persons to remove into the Christian states, or to retire to Africa; and that they punished with the most exemplary severity two Spanish captains who had murdered some of the infidels committed to their care.

The Mahometans of Granada were, for some time, allowed the full enjoyment of their ancient worship, though they were eventually compelled to abjure it or to quit the country; but the Jews were persecuted with great severity immediately after the reduction of the city; and near eight hundred thousand individuals of that nation were driven into banishment at the expiration of six months. About this time, Christopher Columbus concluded a contract with Donna Isabella for the discovery of new countries, which he accomplished with so much honour to himself and advantage to the crown of Castile; and the counties of Cerdagne and Rousillon were restored by Charles VIII. of France previously to his expedition against Italy. Their catholic majesties likewise concluded an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, and a treaty of marriage between their daughter Joanna and his son Philip, archduke of Austria, and sovereign of the Netherlands. In the following year, the princess Margaret of Austria arrived in Spain, and bestowed her hand on the prince of Asturias; and Donna Isabella, who had passed her time, during her widowhood, in acts of devotion, was prevailed on to espouse the king of Portugal. Both these marriages, however,

proved unfortunate; for the prince of Asturias died, in a few months, at Salamanca; and the queen of Portugal expired likewise, after giving birth to a prince who was named Don Michael, and acknowledged heir to the dominions of his father, and the king of Spain.

A. D. 1499. In the autumn of 1499, the archbishops of Toledo and Granada were ordered to attempt the conversion of the Moorish families resident in Granada, or to compel them to retire into Africa, as they had been recently accused of holding a private correspondence with their countrymen, and of inviting them to make a descent upon the Spanish coast. The primate seems to have defeated his own intentions by the hastiness of his temper; but the bishop of Granada applied himself with unwearied assiduity to the discharge of his duty, and made a considerable impression on several of the most intelligent among the Mahometans. By the persuasions of this prelate and the interference of the civil power, the people were induced to profess a conversion to the faith of their conquerors; and on the 18th of December, their principal mosque was consecrated for the performance of Christian worship. However, the insincerity of the new converts was soon manifested by a general insurrection; and Don Ferdinand was obliged to raise a numerous army in order to reduce them to obedience. Another revolt took place in the Alpujarros, but the rebels were quickly subdued, and consented to pay ten pistoles a family on condition of being permitted to retire into Barbary. Shortly after these occurrences, the archduke Philip, and his consort

Joanna, arrived in Spain, and were acknowledged the legal successors to the crowns of Castile and Arragon.

Upon the first intelligence of a rupture between the emperor and the court of France, the archduke resolved upon returning into his own dominions, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king, and the earnest entreaties of his princess. He, accordingly, set out from Madrid on the 19th of December, and gave a fresh cause of offence to his father-in-law, by concluding a treaty with the king of France. On the 10th of March, Donna Joanna was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of Ferdinand; but the consequences of her delivery deranged her mind; and this circumstance hurried the queen, Isabella, to her grave. By her will she left the crown of Castile to her daughter Joanna, and after her to her grandson Charles; and the guardianship of the kingdom to king Ferdinand until Charles should come of age.

As soon as a scaffold could be erected in the Medina del Campo, the king caused his daughter to be proclaimed with the usual solemnities; yet great jealousies began to arise between him and the archduke; insomuch that the latter disputed the queen's will as a mere forgery, and openly avowed his intention of maintaining his right to govern without an associate. Ferdinand, however, acted with great prudence, and was acknowledged administrator, with very trifling opposition. A. D. 1504.

On the 10th of January, the archduke and Donna Joanna embarked for Spain; but, being

driven by stress of weather into an English port, Henry VII. would not permit them to resume their voyage till they had an interview at Windsor. Some authors have supposed that Philip's stay in England was protracted against his will; but he was certainly treated with all possible respect, and entered into a close alliance with the British monarch. On his return to Spain, he required his father-in-law to abdicate the regency; and Ferdinand, after several conferences, consented to retire into his own dominions. But the Castilians had ample cause to regret this change of the administration, and on the death of * Philip, which happened on the 25th of September 1506, the principal nobility determined to recal the king of Arragon. There were, indeed, many persons in Castile, at this period, who refused to submit to Ferdinand's authority, and clamoured for the interference of Maximilian: but these were eventually silenced by spirited measures; and a successful expedition against the city of Oran, in Africa, added fresh lustre to the regent's fame.

Upon this, and several other occasions, Ferdinand received much important service from cardinal Ximenes, who united in his character some uncommon qualities, and who employed the revenues of his benefice in augmenting the glory of his country. He raised himself to the archbishopric of Toledo by his extraordinary merit, and his actions, both of a public and private nature, were highly creditable to the

* The death of Philip completed the mental derangement of his unfortunate wife, and rendered it indispensably necessary that Ferdinand should resume the administration.

ecclesiastical profession. A singular anecdote is related of this amiable man. Having paid a visit to the place of his nativity, he surprised a female relation, who was not very opulent, in the act of preparing bread for her family. The woman felt embarrassed at the entrance of her noble visitor, and attempted to retire in order to change her apparel: but the good cardinal stopped her and said, "Your dress and employment are extremely becoming. I therefore desire that you will give yourself no trouble about any thing but your bread, and take care that it does not burn." He always expressed the warmest gratitude to God for his good fortune, and exerted himself, upon all occasions, to alleviate the sorrows or to supply the wants of his indigent countrymen: and Spain was indebted to him for several establishments worthy of royal magnificence.

About the close of the year 1511, Ferdinand sent the duke of Alva, with a small army, to demand a passage through the king of Navarre's territories into France; and, on the rejection of his request, made himself master of Pampeluna and the greatest part of the kingdom. The French made some vigorous attempts to recover it, but they were soon repulsed with considerable loss, and the duke of Alva completed a conquest, which added great lustre to the Spanish crown, and augmented the fame of Ferdinand's admirable policy.

In the ensuing spring, his catholic majesty fell into a languishing habit of body, and a deep melancholy settled upon his mind, which admitted of no diversion, and baffled all the skill of the most able physicians. However, he attended

regularly to the affairs of government, and took every possible precaution to preserve the tranquillity of his people, till the 22d of January 1516, when he expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-second of his reign. By his last will, Donna Joanna was declared sole heiress of all his dominions, or, failing her, his grandson Don Carlos. He left the infant Don Ferdinand a revenue of fifty thousand ducats; and bequeathed an annual pension of thirty thousand florins to his queen Germana. The regency of Castile was entrusted to the hands of cardinal Ximenes; and that of Arragon was vested in the archbishop of Saragossa. The royal corpse was interred, near that of Isabella, in the city of Granada; and the public loss was lamented with marks of universal and unfeigned sorrow. The enemies of Ferdinand have endeavoured to blacken his character with several base imputations; but, upon an impartial review of his conduct, it appears that he was one of the wisest and most illustrious princes that ever enjoyed sovereign power.

As soon as the last mournful duties had been paid to the deceased monarch, a letter arrived from Brussels, in which the archduke confirmed Ximenes in the regency, and expressed his intention of assuming the regal title. Accordingly the royal standard was displayed in the name of Charles the First, and the council unanimously expressed their approbation of a measure which they could not have opposed with any probability of success.

Some of the Castilian nobles, however, were displeased with the regent's conduct, and sent a de-

putation to demand a sight of the powers by which he acted. Ximenes readily consented to gratify their request, and, at an appointed time, showed them a corpse of two thousand veteran troops drawn up, with their artillery, before the palace. "These," said he, "are the powers with which I shall govern Spain till the arrival of my sovereign." The malecontents were astonished at this unexpected spectacle, and withdrew in silence.

As the government of Ferdinand had thrown a considerable weight of property into the hands of the commonalty, Ximenes granted commissions of array, and by this stroke of policy created a standing army of thirty thousand men, who were willing to serve upon any emergency without any pecuniary remuneration. About the same time, the dethroned king of Navarre was defeated in an attempt for the recovery of his dominions; and the famous corsair Barbarossa took possession of Algiers.

Ximenes continued the discharge of his important duties with equal firmness and moderation, till he was apprised of the king's arrival at St. Andero: but his administration does not seem to have given *universal* satisfaction; for whilst he was hastening to meet his royal master, his viands were poisoned, and he expired on the 8th of November 1517, after devoting the greatest part of his life to the encouragement of literature, the alleviation of distress, and the general benefit of his country. One instance of his amiable generosity is too interesting to be passed over in silence. Being shown a remarkably fine jewel, and urged to purchase it, he observed, "This jewel is extremely pretty, and

may probably be worth the money; but as the army has been just disbanded, I can with the value of this jewel send two hundred indigent soldiers to their families, each with a piece of gold in his pocket." He wrote several theological treatises; expended prodigious sums in printing the Complutensian edition of the holy scriptures, the Mozarabic liturgy, and the works of Tostatus; and settled an annual revenue of fourteen thousand ducats upon his university of Alcala. In short, his life was truly honourable, and the retrospect of his conduct afforded him indescribable satisfaction at the awful moment of dissolution.

A. D. 1518. In the month of January, an assembly of the states was convened at Valladolid, where, after some warm debates, they took the usual oath to their new sovereign, and granted him a free subsidy of six hundred thousand ducats, on condition of his promising to observe some popular laws which had been passed during the reign of his predecessor. Similar measures were soon after taken at Saragossa, and the queen Germana made a voluntary cession of her rights to the kingdom of Navarre, in favour of his catholic majesty. This year also the Spaniards triumphed over the corsair Barbarossa; and Charles was elected king of the Romans.

Early in the ensuing spring, the king took a journey to Catalonia, where he appeased the discontent of the principal inhabitants, and acquired some degree of popularity. Here also he received intelligence of the death of his grandfather Maximilian, and of his own election to the imperial dignity.

The pleasure resulting from this augmenta-

tion of power, and a triumph over his * competitor Francis, was considerably allayed by the spirit of disaffection which broke out, about this time, in various parts of Spain. The city of Valencia was at once distracted by rebellion, and depopulated by a raging pestilence; the states were thrown into complete confusion by being convened in an extraordinary manner; and all ranks of people were overwhelmed with consternation when their sovereign proposed leaving them, in order to take possession of his new dominions. Charles, however, effected all his designs, either by persuasions or menaces, and obtained a subsidy of two hundred millions of maravedies, notwithstanding the spirited opposition of Toledo, Salamanca, and several other cities. He then invested cardinal Adrian with the regency of his dominions; and embarked, with a numerous train of attendants, for England, where he contrived to give Henry VIII. some very favourable impressions of his character and intentions; and also to fix cardinal Wolsey in his interests by some magnificent presents and more interesting promises.

Charles had scarcely left his Spanish dominions, before the embers of discontent burst out into a general flame, and most of the great cities in Castile threw off their allegiance. Don Juan Padilla, at the request of his wife Maria Pacheco, put himself at the head of the malecontents, and made himself master of Tordesillas, on pretence of providing for the security of the queen. These proceedings occasioned such universal consternation, that the royal A. D. 1520.

* Francis I. had declared himself a candidate for the empire; and his pretensions were assisted by many powerful and eloquent partisans.

council deemed it expedient to disperse as fast as possible, and the regent returned, with some difficulty, from the exasperated inhabitants of Valladolid. At length, however, a formidable body of troops was raised by the cardinal and his colleagues, and the rebels were defeated with prodigious slaughter. Similar commotions existed, about the same time, in Valencia, and Majorca: Fontarabia, in the bay of Biscay, fell into the hands of the French; and Italy was ravaged by a sanguinary war between the emperor and Francis I.

Upon the death of Leo X. and the election of Adrian, cardinal bishop of Tortosa, to the papal throne, the emperor resolved to return into Spain, and, accordingly, crossed over from Calais to port St. Andero, whence he proceeded to Valencia and Valladolid. After reposing himself a few days, and paying a visit to his unfortunate mother, he caused a magnificent theatre to be erected in the square of Valladolid, and published a general pardon, with some few exceptions, for all recent offences. When the council observed that too many rebels were spared, he replied, "Enough of blood has been shed; and when a man informed him of the retreat of a powerful malecontent, he answered, "You would have done better to let this gentleman know that I am here, than to tell me where he is." This clemency of the emperor produced the happiest effect on the minds of the people, and Castile began to smile under the benign influence of returning tranquillity. Some time after this transaction, Charles went in person into the kingdom of Navarre, and used his utmost endeavours to persuade the prince of Orange to make an irruption into France. This

year, also, Adrian VI. was succeeded in the papacy by Julius de Medicis, who assumed the name of Clement VII.; and count Pedro Navarro, who had long languished in confinement at Simencas, put a period to his mortal existence by an act of desperation.

The commencement of the year 1524 was marked by the reduction of Fontarabia by the Spaniards; an embassy from the shah of Persia; and an amicable termination of some disputes between the crowns of Castile and Portugal. After a few months, the Imperialists in Italy compelled the French to repass the Alps, and Francis I. was taken prisoner whilst attempting the reduction of Pavia.

The captivity of the French monarch excited an universal alarm in all the countries of Europe, and resolutions were formed, in every part, to curb the dangerous ambition of the emperor. Charles is said to have received the news of his unexpected success with the most hypocritical moderation, and to have forbid any public rejoicings upon that account; observing that he only rejoiced in it as an event which must facilitate the restoration of peace to Christendom. In consequence of these professions, the emperor's confessor intimated the expediency of liberating the royal prisoner without ransom, and observed that such generous treatment would certainly produce the happiest consequences: but Charles refused to listen to this advice, and, after some time, resolved on demanding the restoration of Burgundy and all the Flemish conquests, as the price of the king's liberty. Adrian de Croy was sent into Italy upon this occasion: but Francis was so violently enraged at the se-

verity of the proposals, that he drew his dagger, and, pointing it to his breast, exclaimed, "It were better for a sovereign to perish thus!" The Spanish nobles who were about his person, wrested the instrument of death from his hands: and in his calmer moments, he requested a personal interview with the emperor.

Pursuant to his desire, Francis was removed to Madrid; and the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, or fearing that his prisoner might resign the French diadem to the dauphin, consented to moderate his former demands. Accordingly a treaty was concluded, by which Francis obtained his liberty on condition of restoring the duchy of Burgundy; of renouncing all pretensions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and several places in the Low Countries; of reinstating the duke of Bourbon in all his estates and dignities; and of delivering up his two eldest sons as hostages for the performance of these stipulations. Having witnessed the proclamation of peace, and solemnly espoused Leonora, queen dowager of Portugal, Francis returned to his own dominions, which he entered with repeated exclamations of "I am yet a king! I am yet a king!"

Francis had no sooner returned into his kingdom, than he resolved to break a treaty which threatened to affect the liberties of Europe, and which he considered as by no means binding. Accordingly he permitted the states of Burgundy to protest against the article relative to their province, and took an early opportunity of informing the imperial ambassadors, that he should be directed by the sense of the nation in executing or disavowing that part of the treaty which af-

fected the French monarchy. Charles and his ministers now perceived that they were overreached in the recent negociation; the Italian states triumphed in the emperor's mortification; Francis procured absolution for the sin of perjury; and the pope, the kings of France and England, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, entered into an alliance, which was called the "Holy League," in order to oblige Charles to deliver up the royal hostages on the payment of a reasonable ransom, and to re-establish Sforza in possession of the Milanese.

The confederate army took the field with sanguine expectations; but their ardour was quickly damped, and they had the mortification to witness the reduction of Milan, and the sacking of Rome by the Imperialists. Italy was now become the theatre of a most bloody war, and the calamities which Rome had frequently suffered from the irruption of Huns, Goths, and Vandals, were now exceeded by the outrages of the emperor's army. The charms of beauty, the sacredness of religion, and the forcible appeals of infant innocence, were alike disregarded by the revengeful Spaniards. Venerable matrons and defenceless virgins were indiscriminately sacrificed to lust or rage; prelates were dragged from their altars to a dungeon, and tortured with unrelenting severity, in order to make them discover their treasures; and Clement himself was confined till he should pay an enormous ransom.

The news of these transactions was received with inexpressible pleasure by the emperor: but, as his Spanish subjects were filled with horror at the captivity of his holiness, and as all parts of

Europe expressed the utmost indignation upon the same account, he professed the deepest sorrow for the success which had crowned his arms; stopped the public rejoicings which had been begun for the birth of his son Philip; put himself and his court into mourning; and even ordered prayers to be put up in all the churches for the pope's liberation, which he could immediately have effected by an order to his generals in Italy.

Alarmed at the augmenting power and rapid successes of the emperor, Henry and Francis determined on sending a powerful army into Italy, and adopting such other measures as might facilitate the deliverance of the sovereign pontiff. Accordingly Henry sent over a considerable sum of money, and a French army entered Italy, under the command of marshal Lautre, who soon changed the aspect of affairs, and procured the release of Clement. In the spring of 1529 a treaty was concluded between Charles and the pope at Barcelona; and in the autumn of the same year two illustrious ladies were permitted to restore peace to Europe. Margaret of Austria, Charles's aunt; and Louisa, Francis's mother; met at Cambray, and concluded a definitive treaty, by which Francis was to pay two millions of crowns, as a ransom for his sons, to renounce all his pretensions to Italy, and to resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; and Charles laid aside his claim to Burgundy.

After having received the imperial diadem from the hands of Clement, at Bologna; indulged Francis Sforza with the investiture of Milan; and concluded a treaty of commerce with the Venetians; Charles set out for Germany, and in his

passage was magnificently entertained by the marquis of Mantua. The keys were presented to him in all the cities belonging to the Venetians, by an express order from the senate; and his brother Ferdinand, who had been elected to fill the throne of Hungary, met him at Inspruck in Tirol: but, as the consequences of his journey will be narrated in the history of Germany, we must return to the affairs of Spain.

In consequence of several bulls, which seemed rather incompatible with the existing laws, the Spanish ministers found themselves involved in great perplexity, and some of the inferior clergy began to preach in a very seditious strain: but cardinal Tavera, president of the council, and the rest of the ministers, exerted themselves so successfully, that the public tranquillity was preserved. Andrew Doria, about the same time, defeated the Turkish fleet, which had long threatened desolation to the Spanish and Italian coasts, and made himself master of Coron, and some other places in the Morea.

Shortly after his return from Germany, the emperor held an assembly of the Castilian states at Madrid, and obtained an ample subsidy for prosecuting the war against the infidels: but it was deemed expedient to evacuate the new conquest of Coron, as the possession of that place was of small importance to the interests of Spain, and would require a considerable sum of money for the maintenance of a garrison.

Solyman, the Magnificent, ardently desired to revenge himself upon the Spaniards for the enterprise of Coron, and offered the command of the Turkish fleet to Barbarossa, who had succeeded his brother in the kingdom of Algiers.

Proud of this distinction, the corsair ravaged the Italian and Sicilian coasts with impunity, menaced the city of Rome, and returned in triumph to Tunis, which he had contrived to add to his former dominions. Charles was no sooner apprised of this expedition, than he sent a Genoese, named Lewis Presendes, in character of a merchant, to Tunis, in order to examine the strength of that place: but Barbarossa was acquainted with the scheme by the treachery of one of Presendes's servants, and the unfortunate adventurer was sentenced to a cruel death. This year was, also, marked by the accession of Alexander Farnese, afterwards called Paul III. to the papal throne; and by the first establishment of the order of Jesuits.

As daily complaints were made of Barbarossa's cruel piracies, and Muley-Hascen, the deposed king of Tunis, applied to the court of Madrid for assistance, Charles resolved to humble the pride of the Mahometans, and to undertake the restoration of his royal petitioner. This design coincided exactly with the wishes of his neighbours, and the voluntary assistances which he received, greatly surpassed his expectation. At length he set sail with a formidable armament, and soon reduced the fortress of Goletta, which was defended by six thousand Turks, and three hundred pieces of cannon. He then proceeded to Tunis, where he found that most of the inhabitants had retired to the mountains, and that ten thousand Christian slaves had made themselves masters of the citadel. He therefore exerted himself to prevent his followers from committing any acts of violence; but their rage could only be satiated with the blood of the infidels, and

thirty thousand persons were massacred without pity or distinction. Ten thousand Turks were also taken prisoners; and Muley-Hascen was re-established in the sovereignty, on condition that he should do homage to the crown of Spain, pay an annual subsidy for the maintenance of a Spanish garrison at Goletta, and put into the emperor's hands all the fortified ports in the kingdom of Tunis. Having settled these important concerns, and acquired great fame by his successful expedition, Charles returned into Europe; while Barbarossa, who had retired to Bona, recovered new strength, and resumed his cruel depredations.

Upon the demise of Francis Sforza, which happened shortly after the termination of the African war, the French monarch renewed his pretensions to Milan; but Charles delayed granting the investiture under various pretences, and, at length, avowed his intention of refusing the claim. War was accordingly declared between the competitors; and the emperor, having chased the French forces out of Piedmont and Savoy, marched, at the head of fifty thousand men, to invade the southern provinces of France, while two other armies were ordered to penetrate into Champagne and Picardy: but after he had spent a considerable time in fruitless attacks, and lost one half of his troops by disease or famine, he was compelled to retreat with disorder and precipitation. The Imperialists met with similar misfortunes in Picardy, and were eventually obliged to retire without obtaining any advantages.

In the space of a few months, the emperor's affairs became extremely embarrassing. The

French, elated with their recent fortune, began to act offensively, both in Flanders and Italy; while their new ally, Solyman, made formidable preparations for attacking Naples and Sicily. Charles exerted himself with his usual ability, and expatiated so forcibly on the impropriety of a league between the French monarch and a Turkish sultan, that he not only obtained ample subsidies for the prosecution of the war, but also excited the general murmurs of Europe against his rival. Hostilities were carried on with various success, during the spring and part of the summer: but a truce for three months was concluded on the thirtieth of July; and in the course of the ensuing year, the sovereign pontiff negociated a fresh accommodation.

After the cessation of hostilities, and a personal interview with the king of France, Charles convened an assembly of the states at Toledo, and proposed to levy some necessary supplies by a general excise; but this measure was rejected in a determinate manner, and the nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence against it, as an encroachment on the most distinguishing privilege of their order. After an ineffectual exertion of his eloquence, the emperor ordered the corte to be dismissed by the archbishop of Toledo; and from that period neither the nobles nor prelates have been called to the assemblies, under pretence that those who pay no public taxes can have no vote in imposing them.

Whilst the emperor's mind was enflamed by the opposition of a favourite project, he received intelligence that the citizens of Ghent had thrown off their allegiance, and mal-treated several imperial officers. Hereupon he demand-

ed a passage through France, and landed in that kingdom with a small but splendid train of one hundred persons. The dauphin and the duke of Orleans met him with every token of respect, and offered to go, as hostages, into Spain, till he should reach his own dominions; but Charles replied, that the king's word was sufficient for his safety, and prosecuted his journey without any other security. At Paris he was entertained with the utmost magnificence, and the two young princes accompanied him to Valenciennes. The magistrates of all the cities through which he passed, also complimented him with the offer of their keys, and the utmost politeness was shown towards him through his whole journey.

The citizens of Ghent, alarmed at the approach of their offended emperor, who was joined by his brother, the king of the Romans, and a powerful army, sent ambassadors to implore his mercy, and offered to throw open their gates: but Charles only vouchsafed to reply, that he should appear among them as a sovereign and a judge, with the sceptre and the sword. Accordingly he entered the place of his nativity with a resolution of exhibiting an awful example of severity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were doomed to expiate their crime by death; many of their friends were driven into exile; the city was declared to have forfeited all its privileges; a new mode of administration was prescribed: and an annual tax was levied on the unfortunate inhabitants for the support of a garrison. A. D. 1540.

The baseness of his subsequent behaviour to Francis, laid the foundation of a new war with France; the rapid progress of the Turks in

Hungary excited a general alarm; and the unpleasant state of his own affairs in Spain, induced the emperor to make some considerable concessions to his protestant subjects in Germany, in order that he might obtain some needful supplies both of men and money. He then hastened to execute a favourite enterprise which he had concerted against Algiers; but the weather proved so unfavourable, and the defence of the place was so well conducted, that he was at length compelled to retire with prodigious loss.

The ill success of this expedition encouraged the king of France to commence hostilities; but Charles, by securing the fidelity of the protestant princes in Germany, and by engaging the English monarch to espouse his cause, prevented him from gaining any signal advantage. The Imperialists were, indeed, defeated with considerable loss at the battle of Cerisoles; but the contending powers were mutually fatigued with such an useless war: and a treaty was concluded, after a short time, at Crespy, by which it was agreed, that all conquests made since the truce of Nice should be restored; that Charles should give his eldest daughter, with the sovereignty of the Low Countries, to the duke of Orleans; that the late claims upon certain territories should be renounced by each party; and that the French and imperial forces should unite in making war upon the Turks.

Charles now resolved to humble the German princes, who seemed inclined to shake off, not only the papal but also the imperial jurisdiction; and with this view he concluded a disadvantageous peace with the Turks, and entered into a solemn league with the pope for the extirpation of heresy:

but Providence frustrated his intentions, and he was eventually obliged to make peace with the protestants on their own terms. A subsequent attack on the city of Metz proved totally fruitless; the citizens of Sienna renounced their allegiance, and put themselves under the protection of France; and the footing which the emperor had hitherto maintained in Tuscany was lost about the same time.

Exasperated by these successive disasters, Charles retired into the Low Countries, and effaced the stain which his military reputation had received before Metz, by reducing the cities of Terouane and Hesdin; but whilst he triumphed in these successes, his troops were defeated with great slaughter in Italy; part of Corsica was annexed to the French conquests; and the Austrian general was forced to abandon Transylvania to the Turks. The emperor, however, entertained hopes of counterbalancing all these losses by his own policy, and the nuptials of queen Mary with his son Philip inspired him with the expectation of annexing England to his other dominions.

Whilst Italy and the Netherlands groaned under the miseries of war, and the inhabitants of Germany were fully occupied by theological controversy, the emperor formed a resolution of resigning his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, and of seeking in the tranquillity of retirement that happiness which he had sought in vain amidst the tumults of war and the intrigues of a court. A. D. 1555.

In consequence of this design, Charles, who had already ceded to his son the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, assembled the states

of the Netherlands at Brussels; and explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation. He also recounted all the great actions which he had performed since the commencement of his administration. "From the seventeenth year of my age (said he) I have devoted all my attention to public business, reserving no portion of my time for the indulgence of my ease, and but little for the enjoyment of private pleasure. I have, either in a hostile or pacific manner, visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Netherlands ten times, England twice, and Africa twice: and while my health enabled me to discharge the duty of a sovereign, I never shunned the most arduous office, nor repined under the inconveniencies of fatigue; but now my health is broken, my constitution is exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, and my growing infirmities admonish me to place my sceptre in the hands of a prince who is already accustomed to govern, and who adds to the vigour of youth all the sagacity and attention of maturer years." Then turning towards the prince, who fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand, "It is in your power (resumed the emperor) to justify, by a virtuous administration, the extraordinary proof which I now give of my paternal affection. Preserve, I entreat you, an inviolable regard for the interests of religion, maintain the catholic faith in its purity, let the laws of your country and the rights of your people be sacred in your estimation; and, if you should ever wish to retire from the government, may you have a son to whom you can resign your sceptre, with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you." These

observations were uttered with such peculiar dignity and tenderness, that the whole audience melted into tears; and the emperor being quite exhausted with the fatigue of the solemnity, was obliged to withdraw. A few weeks after this memorable transaction, Charles resigned the sovereignty of Spain and America; reserving nothing to himself out of all his vast possessions but an annual pension of one hundred thousand crowns.

Having thus disengaged himself from all the affairs of state, Charles ordered a small edifice to be erected near the monastery of St. Just; and in that peaceful retreat buried his grandeur, his ambition, and all those mighty projects which, during forty years, had alarmed and agitated all the powers of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Abdication of Charles I. to the Death of Charles II. the last Monarch of Spain of the House of Austria.

DON PHILIP ascended the Spanish throne,* in consequence of his father's resignation; and commenced his administration by concluding a truce with the A. D. 1555.

* Charles V. could not prevail on the German princes to raise his son to the imperial dignity. They cheerfully passed their votes, however, in favour of the emperor's brother Ferdinand; and by that action divided the dangerous power of the house of Austria into two branches.

crown of France for five years: but the flames of war were soon rekindled by the intrigues of the Roman pontiff, and the new sovereign was compelled to take up arms at the very moment when most of the European states were rejoicing in the prospect of a durable repose.

After several fruitless negociations with his holiness, and a consultation with the Spanish ecclesiastics, Philip resolved to act with vigour against his inveterate enemy, and, accordingly, sent the duke of Alva into the pope's dominions, with an army of ten thousand veterans. Paul, however, still remained inflexible, and, on the arrival of a French army in Italy, he banished all thoughts from his mind but those of war and vengeance.

Meanwhile Philip, perceiving that Henry of France had violated the truce, assembled a body of fifty thousand men in the Netherlands; drew over a powerful reinforcement from England; and gave the command of his army to Emanuel Phillibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of that warlike age; who soon damped the ardour of the French troops, by defeating them with prodigious slaughter, before St. Quintin, and taking the gallant Montmorency prisoner. The victorious duke now proposed to overlook all smaller considerations, and to march directly to the gates of Paris: but Philip was unwilling to hazard so bold an enterprise, and by that means saved France from utter devastation. He was, indeed, soon convinced of the absurdity of his conduct upon this occasion: but the reduction of St. Quintin, Horn, and Catelet, dissipated all his chagrin; and in the height of exultation, he vowed to build a church, a monastery,

and a palace in honour of St. Lawrence, because the battle of St. Quintin had been fought on the day sacred to that martyr.

In consequence of the fatal blow which France had received at St. Quintin, the duke of Guise was recalled from Italy, and the arrogant pontiff, finding himself deserted by his best defenders, was obliged to accommodate his behaviour to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians in order to obtain peace. His catholic majesty eagerly listened to the first proposals of this nature, and the duke of Alva repaired to Rome, in order to obtain absolution for having invaded the patrimony of the church.

But though this war was terminated without any detriment to the apostolic see, it produced effects of considerable importance in other parts of Italy. The city of Placentia, with its adjacent territory, was restored to Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, in order to detach him from the French interest; the investiture of Sienna was granted as an equivalent for the sums due to Cosmo de Medici; and the balance of power among the Italian states was rendered more equable than it ever had been since the invasion of Charles VIII. From this time Italy ceased to be the theatre on which the monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for augmentation of fame or dominion. New objects attracted their attention, and their subsequent hostilities involved other states in the miseries of war.

The duke of Guise was received with acclamations on his return to France, and all ranks of people seemed to look up to him as the guar-

dian angel of their kingdom. He was appointed lieutenant-general, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited: and he soon justified his master's high opinion of him, by effecting the reduction of Calais, and the fortress of Thionville in the duchy of Luxembourg. This brilliant success, however, was counterbalanced by a signal defeat of the French near Gravelines; and the duke was obliged to hasten toward the frontiers of Picardy, in order to oppose the progress of the enemy.

The attention of all France was now fixed upon the duke of Guise, as the only person who seemed capable of surmounting every danger, and in whose conduct they might confide with pleasing security. His strength was nearly equal to the duke of Savoy's, each commanding about forty thousand men. Their encampments were fixed within a few leagues of each other; and, the French and Spanish monarchs having joined their respective armies, it was expected that a decisive battle would soon determine which of the competitors should obtain a future ascendency in the affairs of Europe. But both princes seemed inclined to stand on the defensive; peace began to be mentioned in each camp; and, after mature deliberation, the abbey of Cercramp was fixed on as the place of congress.

A. D. 1558. We must now turn our attention to the monastery of St. Just, where Charles V. about this time, received a summons to futurity. After resigning the reins of government into other hands, and retiring, with only twelve domestics, to this peaceful retreat, he devoted his time entirely to acts of piety and innocent amusements. When his health per-

mitted him to quit his apartment, he rode on horseback to a neighbouring wood, or cultivated the elegant productions of his garden; and when his infirmities precluded the enjoyment of these gratifications, he found relief in a select society of friends, or in studying the principles of mechanism. He was particularly curious with respect to the construction of watches, and on perceiving that he could never bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, with much regret, on his own folly in attempting to bring his subjects to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the mysterious doctrines of religion. He died on the twenty-first of September, with all exterior marks of piety and patience, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after he had swayed the Castilian sceptre for near forty years, and passed two years in retirement.

The character of Charles V. is strongly marked by the peculiarity of his qualities, which not only distinguish him from his royal contemporaries, but also account for the superiority which he so long obtained over them. As his talents unfolded themselves by slow degrees, and were late in attaining maturity, he was cautious in forming his schemes, and, after hearing the opinions of his ministers, took his resolution with decisive firmness. His promptitude in execution was equally remarkable with his patience in deliberation; and he did not discover greater sagacity in his choice of measures, than fertility of expedient in rendering them successful. He possessed in a most eminent degree the art of adapting the employments of men to their talents; and though he remained inactive du-

ring the most ardent period of life, he acquired such knowledge in the art of war as enabled him to vie with the most able generals of his age. He placed unbounded confidence in his officers, rejoiced in the augmentation of their fame, and rewarded their services with princely munificence; and, though destitute of that suavity of manners which marked the character of his French competitor, he was no stranger to the virtues which excite admiration and ensure attachment.

There were, however, some great defects in Charles's political character. His ambition appears to have been insatiable, and his ardent desire of being distinguished as a conqueror, involved him in perpetual wars, and prevented him from attending to the police and improvement of his kingdom. The addition of the imperial crown to his hereditary dominions engaged him in projects so complicated and arduous, that he had often recourse to low artifices in the execution of them, and sometimes dishonoured his royal character by flagrant deviations from integrity. Besides his successor, Philip, the emperor had several sons, who died in their infancy, and two daughters, the infanta Maria, who espoused the archduke Maximilian; and the infanta Joanna, who married the prince of Portugal. He had also two natural children, namely, Margaret, who was married to Cosmo de Medicis; and Don Juan, who was brought up by one of the emperor's faithful servants, till Don Philip was made acquainted with the secret of his birth.

But to return from this digression. A treaty of peace was concluded, in the spring of 1559,

between the crowns of Spain and France, in consequence of which his catholic majesty consented to espouse Henry's daughter, Elizabeth, and the contested territories were mutually given up. The French king did not long enjoy the effects of this pacification, being accidentally killed at a tournament: but his disaster had no influence either on the treaty or the marriage.

After making some necessary arrangements in the Netherlands, Philip hastened his return to Spain, and convened an assembly of the states at Toledo, where, in pursuance of the deceased emperor's request, he publicly acknowledged John of Austria for his brother. On the fourth of October, he sanctioned an *auto da fe* with his presence; and on the second of the ensuing February, celebrated his nuptials with the princess of France.

At the earnest solicitations of the knights of Malta, an expedition was undertaken to recover Tripoli from the infidels; and the duke de Medina Cœli, who was invested with the chief command, flattered himself with the expectation of complete success: but whilst he was exulting over the reduction of an island called Gerbes, his fleet was surprised by basha Piali with the whole force of the Othman empire, and a scene of carnage ensued which scarcely merits the name of an engagement. Forty gallies were either sunk or captured by the Turks; several persons of distinction were taken prisoners; the duke himself escaped with great difficulty, and Gerbes was wrested from its Christian conquerors. Don Philip was much dejected at the news of this disaster, and imme-

diately demanded the pope's permission for laying contributions on the clergy. About the same time, he transferred his court from Toledo to Madrid; and, soon afterward, laid the foundation of the Escurial, which he ordered to be built in the form of a gridiron, because St. Lawrence, to whose honour he dedicated it, was said to have been broiled alive, at Rome, in the third century.

A. D. 1563. In the ensuing spring, Hassan, king of Algiers, avowed his intention of recovering Oran and Mazalquiver out of the hands of the Spaniards; and employed in this expedition the whole force of the infidels in Africa, besides a naval armament which was furnished by the grand signior: but the governors of the fortresses acted with such prudence and vigilance, that their respective garrisons were enabled to hold out till a Christian fleet arrived, and compelled the besieger to draw off his forces. In consequence of this war, all the Moors of Valencia were suddenly disarmed, by order of government, and six thousand sabres that were taken from them were sent to the Spanish troops in the island of Sardinia. Shortly after these transactions, an instrument was drawn up, by which all the Spanish possessions in America were irrevocably annexed to the Castilian diadem; and, about the same time, the viceroy of Sicily reduced the important fortress of Penon de Velez, under the cannon of which the Moorish corsairs used to take refuge when chased by the Spanish galleys.

The grand signior was no sooner informed of the loss of Penon de Velez, and the subsequent destruction of another place to which the Turk-

ish pirates frequently resorted, than he fitted out a prodigious armament, and ordered Sinan Basha to invade the island of Malta with all possible expedition. But the grand master took such admirable precautions for the defence of the place, and procured such powerful auxiliaries, that the enemy was compelled, after a sanguinary conflict, to retire with precipitation.

Upon the misrepresentation of Guerrero, archbishop of Granada, Pius V. who had lately ascended the papal throne, wrote in very warm terms to Philip, in order to stir him up against the Morescoes; and the king cheerfully took his advice, notwithstanding the serious embarrassments which he had already brought upon himself by his tyrannic conduct towards the protestants in the Netherlands. He, accordingly, sent an express into the kingdom of Granada, commanding all the Morescoes to submit to an immediate change of habit, manners, and language. The Moors were much distressed at this cruel order, and sent deputies to refute the accusations which had been laid against them; but neither their entreaties, nor even the remonstrances of the Spanish officers had any effect upon the king. His inflexibility, however, soon produced the most alarming consequences, as will appear in the sequel.

Whilst the duke of Alba was executing his master's orders in the Netherlands, A. D. 1568. Don Carlos of Spain formed a resolution of quitting his father's court and retiring into Germany: but the nobles to whom he applied for pecuniary assistance discovered his intentions, and Philip went in person to his apartments, where he caused him to be arrested.

Philip acted with great moderation upon this occasion, and gave notice to the pope's nuncio, and to all the foreign ministers, of the motives which had compelled him to adopt a measure so inimical to his paternal feelings. He also informed their imperial majesties, who interposed with great anxiety for the prince's safety, that he had taken the advice of both divines and civilians; and that his future actions toward the royal prisoner would be marked by caution and tenderness.

Carlos, however, bore his confinement with the utmost impatience. He refused all kind of nourishment for two days, and afterwards overloaded his stomach with food. By this conduct, and an immoderate use of cold water, he brought on a dysentery which baffled the skill of his physicians. He then sent for his father, and, having obtained forgiveness for his misconduct, he expired in the twenty-fourth year of his age. This prince had the misfortune to be deformed in his person, and to have a weakness in one of his legs. He was also of an unhappy disposition, hasty, passionate, and sullen, very apt to take offence, and remarkably implacable in his aversions. His governor, Garcia Toledo, and the duke of Alba, narrowly escaped assassination in consequence of some offence which they had given him; and his intended flight into Germany, seems to have resulted from some secret discontent which he had conceived against his father. Some writers have affirmed that he was put to death by his father's command: but this assertion seems highly improbable, and is contradicted by the best Spanish historians.

The Morescoes, finding all their remonstrances

ineffectual, and perceiving that the edict relative to their change of customs would be immediately enforced, resolved to throw off their allegiance, and attempt the recovery of Granada. Their measures were conducted with the most profound secrecy; and they had sent repeatedly to Algiers before Philip had any idea of the design. At length one of their deputies was discovered, and his papers gave so clear an account of their preparations, that the marquis de Mondijar found it necessary to repair immediately to Granada, in order to prevent the surprisal of that city. His exertions were attended with success; but a general revolt took place in the adjacent country, and Ferdinand de Valor, a young man of approved conduct and bravery, was proclaimed king of Granada and Cordova, after vowing to live and die in support of the Mahometan religion. The most outrageous excesses and wanton cruelties were now committed by the exasperated rioters; and a most sanguinary war ensued, which lasted between two and three years, and depopulated some of the finest countries of Spain. At length, however, the Christians obtained a decisive victory; and, upon the death of the Moorish prince, the public tranquillity was restored. Shortly after the termination of this war, Don Juan, with a powerful body of auxiliaries, gained a naval victory over the Turks, at Lepanto, by which they lost thirty thousand men, besides ten thousand that were taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christian slaves who were liberated by the conqueror. Thirty of their finest galleys were sunk, twenty-five burnt, and one hundred and thirty taken; and it was merely owing to the precipitate retreat of one of their commanders,

that the remainder of the fleet escaped destruction. Philip celebrated this victory by a feast which continued nine days, and appointed the anniversary of it to be kept for ever in the cathedral of Toledo.

A. D. 1571. Elated with this brilliant success, Don Juan resolved on fresh achievements, and soon made himself master of Tunis: but instead of demolishing the town, according to his brother's orders, he repaired the fortifications, marked out a new citadel, and formed a project of assuming, by the mediation of Rome, the regal title. He was, however, admonished by Philip to abandon this design; and he had, soon afterward, the mortification to witness the conquest of his intended kingdom by the infidels. After making some unsuccessful attempts to procure the lieutenancy of Italy, he went into the Netherlands, where he died, on the 7th of October 1578, not without suspicion of poison.

Upon the demise of Henry king of Portugal, Don Philip laid claim to the vacant throne, and gave the command of a numerous army to the duke of Alba, who soon effected the reduction of the kingdom, after defeating Don Antonio in two battles. The Spanish monarch made his public entry into Lisbon on the 29th of June, and received the pleasing intelligence that he had been acknowledged and proclaimed in the Indies. However, as he found it utterly impossible to gain the affections or even to silence the murmurs of his new subjects, and as his feelings were sensibly wounded by the loss of a promising son, he appointed the cardinal archduke Albert regent of Portugal, and returned to Madrid. Nothing of importance took place in the

ensuing year, except an acknowledgment of the infant Don Philip by the states of Castile, and the conclusion of a marriage between the duke of Savoy and the infanta Catalina.

In consequence of some recent depredations committed in Europe and America by the English, Philip resolved to take an ample revenge on queen Elizabeth; and, after mature deliberation, ordered the whole maritime force of Spain to be assembled for a descent upon her dominions. The execution of this project was rapidly accelerated by pecuniary supplies, and all possible exertions; and an armament, consisting of one hundred and thirty vessels, with twenty thousand land troops, and eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen, sailed from Lisbon, on the 27th of May, to dethrone a princess who was universally considered among the catholics as a wicked protectress of heretics. But Divine Providence interfered, at this critical juncture, for the preservation of England and of the true religion. The winds and the waves arose against the presumptuous invaders; the Spanish vessels were scattered, sunk, or dashed upon the rocks; the exertions of their enemies were crowned with brilliant success; and Philip had the mortification to witness not only the frustration of his grand design, but also the annihilation of his naval power. The duke de Medina Sidonia, who had the command of this *invincible* armada, retired, in the utmost chagrin, to his own house, not chusing to encounter the eyes of his unfortunate master; but Philip condescended to write him a letter, in which he acknowledged his past services, and reminded him that in things depending upon the

A. D. 1588.

elements no fault could be justly imputed to men. In the following year, Philip was alarmed by a descent of an English fleet upon his Portuguese dominions, and, though his enemies did not effect their design, he had the fresh mortification of witnessing the destruction of fort Cascaes, and the capture of several Spanish vessels.

Notwithstanding these repeated misfortunes, and the consequent embarrassment of his domestic affairs, Don Philip devoted a considerable portion of his time to the projection of various schemes for the aggrandisement of his fame, and in particular, regarded the civil war of France as very favourable to his designs: for he seems to have thought that he might easily obtain the protectorship of that distracted kingdom, and, afterward, place his favourite daughter Isabella on the vacant throne; but these expectations were eventually disappointed; his troops and emissaries were effectually repulsed; and Henry IV. whom the Spaniards designated by the epithet, "Prince of Bearn," surrounded with splendour that diadem which he had designed for the infanta.

A. D. 1590. About this time Antonio Perez, the king's secretary of state, was put to the torture for being concerned in the murder of one Escovado; and the prosecution was carried on with such vigour that he deemed it advisable to shelter himself under the privileges of his native country Arragon, and accordingly escaped thither with the first opportunity. Being again apprehended, he appealed to the chief justice, and was carried to Saragossa, where he expected to be heard before an equitable tribunal. But as a *public* trial might probably defeat

the designs of his enemies, they contrived to effect his removal to the prison of the inquisition. This measure, however, produced a revolt, and, after much effusion of blood, Perez obtained his liberty, and retired into Bearn, where, notwithstanding the circumstances of his exile and ill treatment, he retained his loyalty to his former master. He appears to have owed many of his misfortunes to his affection for Anna de Mendoca y la Cerda, the king's mistress; yet he retained his admiration of that princess in the midst of affliction: and when Henry IV. asked him how he could hazard his life by an attachment to a woman who had lost the sight of one eye, he replied with vivacity, "With that eye she sets the world on fire; if she had two she would reduce it to ashes."

Shortly after the frustration of his schemes in France, Don Philip received the unpleasant intelligence that a Turkish fleet had ravaged the coast of Calabria, and that one Gabriel de Spinosa had assumed the character of a prince of Portugal: but his fears were soon quieted by the apprehension and death of the impostor; and two of his naval commanders revenged themselves on the infidels by making a well-timed descent on Patrass in the Morea. A. D. 1594.

Upon the first intimation that an English armament had been fitted out for the invasion of his dominions, the king ordered all his officers to prepare for the defence of Lisbon, as he persuaded himself that the enemy would make an attack upon that city: but whilst his fleet was moored at Lisbon, the earl of Essex and lord admiral Howard made themselves masters of

Cadiz, captured several rich galleons, and reduced the duke de Medina Sidonia to the sad necessity of burning a fleet of merchantmen which must otherwise have been taken by the invaders. This circumstance struck such terror into the inhabitants of the other maritime towns, that they unanimously deserted their residences; while the successful sons of Albion enriched themselves with plunder, searched the harbours, and bade defiance to the Spanish arms. Philip resolved to revenge these insults by a fresh invasion of Elizabeth's kingdom, and actually fitted out a powerful fleet for that purpose: but this, like his great armada, became the prey of raging winds and waves; and the few vessels which escaped absolute destruction were driven back, in a most wretched condition, to the port of Ferrol.

A. D. 1597. Shortly after the conclusion of peace with the crown of France, Philip breathed his last at the Escurial, in the seventy-first year of his age and in the forty-second of his reign. In his dying moments, he delivered a paper of instructions to his successor; expressed the most earnest solicitude for the welfare of his favourite daughter; and ordered some state prisoners to be set at liberty. His ruling character appears to have been ambition, and he seems to have aspired at universal monarchy; but, though he formed the most politic schemes for reducing England, becoming king of the Romans, and placing the diadem of France upon the head of Isabella, the events were extremely mortifying; and at the close of a long and busy reign, his power and his treasures were equally exhausted. He is said to

have been remarkably haughty, gloomy, and reserved; and his pretensions to religion were, in all probability, merely political. He was styled "Philip the Prudent" from the general tenour of his conduct in the cabinet; but in private life he was certainly vicious, and his greatest abilities were exerted on such occasions as rather derogated from than added lustre to his royal dignity.

Philip III. ascended the throne in the twenty-first year of his age; and a celebrated historian has justly observed that his favourite, the duke of Lerma, obtained a more than equal share in the administration. At the king's marriage two statues were erected, one of Jupiter and the other of Philip, bearing a globe upon their shoulders. This was an excellent opportunity for a display of malevolence against the new minister; and an inscription was accordingly fixed upon the statue of the deity to the following effect—"This Jupiter is the duke of Lerma."

After ratifying the peace with France, and ceding the Netherlands to Donna Isabella, in consequence of her marriage with the archduke Albert, the Spanish government sent a fleet of seventy galleys against the Turks; but, though the enemy's fleet was much inferior, this expedition proved entirely fruitless. A. D. 1599.

Upon the demise of queen Elizabeth, Philip sent an ambassador into England to compliment king James upon his accession; and in the ensuing year peace was concluded between the nations. The earl of Nottingham was received, upon this occasion, at Madrid, with all possible

demonstrations of respect; and the joy of the Spanish courtiers was considerably augmented by the birth of an infant, who was named Don Philip after his royal parent.

Meanwhile the enemies of his majesty's favourite busied themselves in contriving heinous charges against the object of their envy, and magnified every unlucky accident into a wilful and premeditated crime. Among a variety of other things, they alleged that the duties upon oil and wine had brought in twenty-three millions; that the fleets from the Indies were laden with extraordinary riches; and that, notwithstanding this prodigious income, the royal coffers were almost empty. These clamours, however, were soon silenced by the dismissal of state spies, and the termination of a destructive war with the United Provinces, which were afterward acknowledged as independent.

A. D. 1609. The latent sparks of animosity being now rekindled in the breasts of the Spanish ecclesiastics, a resolution was passed for the general expulsion of the Morescoes; and a royal edict was promulgated for that purpose, on pretence that those unbelievers had invited the king of Morocco to make a descent upon his catholic majesty's dominions, and that they had formed a dangerous conspiracy against the Christians. These imputations were indeed void of foundation; and many of the nobles remonstrated on the impolicy of acting with such rigour against a race of men who contributed most essentially, by their industry, to the support and aggrandisement of the country: but every remonstrance proved ineffectual; the Moors were, at several times, transported into Africa; and

Spain sustained a loss of about six hundred thousand useful subjects.

The news of the death of Henry IV. is said to have been very acceptable to Philip and his minister, as that accident concurred precisely with their interests. However, the court was ordered to go into mourning, and a messenger was dispatched to Paris with compliments of condolence to the queen regent, as well as to remind her of the marriages which had been proposed between the infanta of Spain and the young king Louis, and between the princess Isabella and the prince of Asturias. The negociations upon these subjects were crowned with complete success; and the projected marriages were, soon afterward, solemnly confirmed.

Upon the report of some great military preparations among the Turks, the Spanish ministers deemed it expedient to fit out a powerful fleet for the security of their coasts: but the grand signior suddenly laid up his naval armament, and turned his arms against the Persians. Hereupon the duke of Lerma ordered Don Lewis Faxarada to make a descent upon Barbary, and to erect a strong fortress on the gulf of Marmora, to prevent the Moorish pirates from taking shelter there, and disturbing, from thence, the commerce of Spain. This scheme was happily effected; and, though it would scarcely have excited attention in the time of Charles V. or Philip II. it was one of the greatest exploits performed during this reign. About the same time, his catholic majesty concluded a treaty of peace with some of the Italian states; and consented to a general renunciation of all his rights

to the succession of any part of his dominions belonging to the German branch of the house of Austria.

A. D. 1618. Meanwhile the duke of Lerma introduced his son, the duke of Uzeda, to his sovereign, that in case of necessity he might succeed him in the royal favour; whilst his nephew, count de Lemos, was placed near the prince of Asturias, in order that he might contemplate that rising sun, and rise with it above the political horizon. The minister triumphed, for some time, in the accomplishment of these schemes, which promised to establish his authority in the present, and to revive his credit in the ensuing reign. But he had, eventually, cause to regret his arrangements: for his son felt offended because he had destined him to act the part of a courtier; the confessor whom he had recommended to his majesty found that it would be more advantageous to hold his place by a minister of his own creation than by a man on whom he was merely a dependent; and, by the intrigues of these ingrates, the count de Lemos was driven from his new employment, and Lerma himself was, soon afterward, dismissed from his majesty's service.

It is highly probable that the enemies of this great man would have continued their persecutions after he had retired from the helm of state, had he not provided for his personal safety by procuring a cardinal's hat. However, the blow with which he was threatened fell upon his favourite, Don Roderigo Calderona, count of Oliva. This person, who was the son of a poor soldier and a Flemish woman, rose from

the lowest stage of domestic service to the confidence of his master, the duke of Lerma, who procured him opulence, loaded him with honours, and even permitted him to aspire to a viceroyalty. These signal marks of favour excited much envy among the people; and on the disgrace of his benefactor he was accused of various crimes, and detained in close confinement.

Early in the ensuing spring Philip set out, at the request of his new minister, to make the tour of Portugal, and his reception in that kingdom was equally pleasing and magnificent. On the feast of St. Peter he made his public entry into Lisbon, where he found that the most splendid preparations had been made on his account. The river was literally covered with beautiful galleys and other vessels; the streets were embellished with thirty-two triumphal arches; and the public display of gold and jewels was so great that his majesty was obliged to prolong the show, that he might have time to behold the whole. The affability of his behaviour was particularly pleasing to the Portuguese nobles; and in a general assembly of the states, they cheerfully acknowledged his son as heir apparent to their crown. The majority of the nation, however, were not satisfied with his conduct; for he did not gratify them often enough by appearing in public, neither did he give very satisfactory answers to some of their demands. A. D. 1619.

During Philip's residence at Lisbon, the affairs of Europe began to be overcast; and, on his return to Madrid, he found the ministry in a state of embarrassment and perplexity. The

affairs of the empire were fallen into great confusion; Italy and Switzerland were ready to arm against the augmenting power of the Spaniards; the governor of Naples seemed inclined to shake off his allegiance; and the Turks had a powerful fleet at sea which excited universal consternation. After mature deliberation, however, the Spanish ministers resolved to act with extraordinary vigour, and their exertions were attended with considerable success. Under pretence of assisting the archduke Albert, they sent some powerful succours into Germany; the viceroy of Naples was suddenly compelled to relinquish his post; and the Spaniards erected several forts in the Valteline, which facilitated the correspondence between the two branches of the house of Austria, shut the Swiss out of Italy, kept the Venetians in awe, and held most of the Italian princes in a state of dependence which differed but little from actual subjection.

Whilst his ministers triumphed in these successes, Philip perceived his approaching dissolution, and frequently lamented that indolence which had been the disgrace of his reign. He disapproved the seizure of the Valteline, and gave express orders upon his death bed, that it should be restored. He left some written observations for the use of his son; and expired at Madrid, in the forty-third year of his age and in the twenty-third of his reign. This prince is said to have received a good education and to have been sincerely virtuous: but an Italian historian has justly observed that, although he exceeded most of his subjects in moral virtues, he was very defective in those shining qualities which ought to be associated with sovereign

power. He had by his queen, Margaret of Austria, four sons and three daughters, of whom Don Philip, Don Carlos, Don Ferdinand, the queen of France, and the infanta Donna Maria, survived him; but, notwithstanding this numerous progeny, he is said to have had no better prospect with respect to his family than in reference to his dominions, and his reflections upon this subject embittered his last moments.

Philip IV. had no sooner ascended the vacant throne than he removed the duke of Uzeda and the late king's confessor from their employments: but, though he acted with spirit in displacing these men, he himself became the subject of a favourite; and the administration was chiefly vested in Don Gaspar de Guzman, count de Olivarez. The commencement of this reign was rendered unpopular by the execution of Rodrigo Calderona, who submitted to an unjust sentence with such patience and resignation that his unhappy fate was universally regretted. A. D. 1621.

A new system of politics was now introduced into the cabinet; and a strict league was concluded with the emperor, that, by his assistance, war might be revived in the United Provinces, and that both the Dutch and Italians might be effectually humbled under the power of Spain. The expectations of the new minister, however, were sadly disappointed; for, instead of adding new lustre to his master's crown, or rendering any important service to his country, he excited the general indignation of Europe, and had the mortification to hear that his exasperated neighbours designed to attack the Spanish dominions on every side. Some trifling advan-

tages were, indeed, gained over the English, Dutch, and French assailants; and a fortunate escape of the plate fleet occasioned some public rejoicings: but the pressure of extraordinary taxes occasioned universal complaints; the insolence of Olivarez excited a formidable revolt among the Catalonians; and the Portuguese, having chosen the duke of Bragança for their king, shook off the Spanish yoke, and recovered their former independence.

A. D. 1642. These successive misfortunes, which ought to have opened the eyes of Philip and his indiscreet ministers, seem, on the contrary, to have infatuated both. Olivarez had obtained his present power by becoming the confident of his master's pleasures, and by encouraging his licentiousness, while he himself endeavoured to deceive the world with a specious appearance of extraordinary piety. In the commencement of his administration, he incurred his majesty's displeasure by presenting a false memorial on a subject of importance: but, in consideration of his alluring a beautiful actress, named Calderona, to the royal couch, this glaring act of injustice was pardoned; and the offender was, afterwards, permitted to introduce an illegitimate son at court, with the name of Don Henrico de Guzman. About the same time the son of Philip and Calderona, then in his fourteenth year, received the title of Don Juan of Austria, and was declared generalissimo of the army against Portugal, while the heir apparent, Don Balthasar, was left under the care of the countess de Olivarez;—a circumstance which chagrined the queen, enraged the populace, and astonished Europe.

On the subsequent failure of an expedition against the Catalonians, the loss of Perpignan, and the frustration of several important schemes, Olivarez was overwhelmed with consternation, and, on his bended knees, besought permission to retire: but Philip was so far from charging upon his minister the recent misfortunes, that he joined with him in deploring their common disappointments, and consoled him with repeated assurances of favour and protection.

The credit of the count duke, however, was rapidly declining. The court was almost deserted; the populace, gloomy and discontented, refused to exhibit their usual signs of attachment when his majesty appeared in public; and the queen represented to her consort, that all the calamities which had happened during his reign had resulted entirely from the romantic politics of Olivarez. This assertion was immediately followed by the remonstrances of the imperial ambassador; and Philip's nurse, being purposely introduced, at this juncture, described the miseries of the nation in so lively and affecting a manner, that the king resolved to appease the universal clamour, and accordingly wrote a letter to the duke, in which he ordered him to retire to Loches. Olivarez seemed to bear his disgrace with perfect equanimity; and, in all probability, would have regained his master's favour; but, on his publishing an imprudent memorial, a fresh clamour was raised against him, and the king was persuaded to banish him to Toro.

Notwithstanding the return of the grandees to court, and the liberal subsidies that were granted by his provinces, Philip was much chagrined at the loss of his old minister; and

the disasters of the ensuing year rendered him still more impatient under a load which seemed altogether insupportable. In Italy, the house of Austria received the most sensible mortification, by being excluded from the negociations between the Roman pontiff and the duke of Parma. In Germany, the imperialists were defeated upon several occasions. In the Low Countries, the French and Dutch gained some important victories. The marquis of Torrecusa was routed with prodigious loss at Badajos; and the Spanish fleet was utterly defeated, by the marquis de Breze, in sight of Carthagena. These circumstances, so inimical to the interest of Spain and of her best allies, produced the most unpleasant sensations at Madrid; and the public sorrow received fresh poignance from the death of the queen, whose prudent and amiable conduct had gained the confidence of her husband, and the entire love of her subjects.

A. D. 1645. Upon the demise of this princess, the king committed the management of public affairs to Don Lewis Haro de Guzman, the nephew of Olivarez, who had been employed under his uncle, but who now pursued very different measures. Most historians have affirmed that the abilities of this minister were inferior to those of his predecessor: but he seems to have been less assuming; and he is universally allowed to have been more beloved.

In consequence of the important changes at court, and the pacific disposition of Haro de Guzman, the Spaniards began to hope for the blessings of tranquillity: but the war still con-

tinued on every side with unabated fury, and the torrent of ill success still bore down all before it. The marquis de Serra, who commanded for Philip in Italy, was precluded from gaining an important advantage over Savoy by the want of money and auxiliaries; the house of Austria suffered materially from the exertions of the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange; a new expedition against Portugal was rendered totally ineffectual; and the detection of a conspiracy which had been sanctioned by the Spanish court, delayed the reduction of Catalonia. About this time, the count de Harcourt made himself master of Balaguer, and the count duke de Olivarez expired in the place of his banishment.

As a Spanish party was supported by ministerial intrigues at Lisbon, so there wanted not a Portuguese faction among the nobles of Madrid, who, in their own opinion at least, acted entirely from a spirit of disinterested patriotism. On the demise of Don Balthasar, some of these persons expressed an ardent desire for the reunion of the crowns of Castile and Portugal; and the duke de Medina Sidonia ventured to expatiate on the advantages which would result from a marriage between his nephew, the prince of Brasil, and the infanta Maria Theresa, now presumptive heiress of the Spanish monarchy. But as this scheme could not even be rendered communicable to Don Philip, the projectors of it were driven into consultations and practices which were criminal in appearance if not in reality, and which soon produced the most serious consequences. The duke de Medina is said to have preserved his life by discovering all the

other persons who had engaged with him in this design: but the duke de Hijar, of the illustrious house of Silva, perished under a rigorous confinement; and the marquis de Ayamonte, Don Carlos de Padilla, and others, were doomed to an untimely death for this irregular instance of their zeal for the tranquillity of their country. The latter part of this year was marked by the death of prince Edward of Portugal, and the marriage of his catholic majesty with his own niece, Mary Anne of Austria.

A. D. 1657. Upon the demise of their king Don Juan, the Portuguese resolved to begin the campaign with extraordinary vigour, lest their enemies should take advantage of their recent loss; and the minority of their prince: but, failing in an attempt to surprise a Spanish fortress, they drew upon themselves the mischief which they sought to avoid; for the duke de St. Germaine, an Italian nobleman of great merit, being entrusted with the command of Don Philip's army, soon effected the reduction of Olivenza, one of the strongest places in Portugal, and soon afterwards added the town and castle of Moron to this important conquest. In Catalonia the Spaniards were less successful, and the subsequent destruction of several rich galleons, by admiral Blake, in the island of Teneriffe, occasioned an universal consternation: but these heavy calamities seemed to be totally forgotten, and the public sorrow was converted into general rejoicings, on the birth of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Philip Prosper. About this time, also, the Catalonians returned to their obedience. After the war between Spain and France had been car-

ried on for several years without any material advantages, the court of Madrid deemed it expedient to accede to a negociation, which, upon a former occasion, they had rejected with contempt. Accordingly a messenger was sent to cardinal Mazarine, and preliminary articles were settled at Paris, in consequence of which the two ministers met on the frontiers, at a place called the Isle of Pheasants, and concluded a definitive treaty, by which the infanta was to be given in marriage to the most Christian king, and a district in sovereignty which had been designed for the prince of Condé was to be yielded to the crown of France. On the 3d of June the projected marriage was solemnized, by proxy, at Fontarabia; and next morning, the queen mother, with cardinal Mazarine, had an interview with his catholic majesty and the infanta. The treaty was then sworn to with great solemnity, by both kings; and the two courts left each other in terms of the most cordial friendship. A. D. 1659.

Don Juan was now moderately successful in the war against Portugal: but the Spanish ministers were displeased with his conduct; and persuaded his majesty to confer the command of his army upon the marquis de Carracena. This nobleman flattered his employers with the hope of reducing the revolted kingdom in a single campaign; but, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Villaviciosa, he was defeated, in the plain of Montes Claros, with prodigious loss, four thousand veterans being slain on the field of battle, and a still greater number taken prisoners. The news of this disaster had such an effect upon Philip, A. D. 1661.

that he actually fainted away with the dispatches in his hand. The ministers were now overwhelmed with confusion; the populace exclaimed that Don Juan had been betrayed, and the glory of Castile sacrificed by an unprincipled cabal; and the public confusion was greatly augmented by an irruption of the Portuguese troops into Andalusia.

In this melancholy situation of affairs, the king was seized with a dysentery, which terminated his mortal existence in the sixty-first year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his reign. He left the crown to his son Don Carlos, who was to be placed, during his minority, under the tutelage of the queen and a council of regency. His remains were deposited in that magnificent dormitory of the Spanish kings, called the Pantheon, which he had rebuilt in the year 1655.

Philip IV. was a prince of good natural abilities but his education was inadequate to the situation which he filled; and the artifices of count de Olivarez kept him so long in a state of indolence, that he could not afterwards attain a proper degree of application. He appears to have loved magnificence; and, though the greatest part of his reign was clouded by misfortunes or disappointments, he certainly had the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy at heart.

A. D. 1666. The young king, Charles II.* was inaugurated shortly after the performance of his father's obsequies, and, though scarcely four years of age, he displayed such promising parts that, when he was pro-

* The infant Don Philip died about three years before this period.

claimed in the Netherlands, the people expressed an expectation that he would resemble his famous ancestor the emperor Charles V. Unfortunately, however, the queen mother was equally fond of power, and unable to govern with propriety; and her misconduct incapacitated the prince, upon future occasions, from making the needful reformations in his distracted kingdom.

Having prevailed on her dying consort to exclude Don Juan from the administration, this princess introduced into the council of regency father Nitard, her confessor, a man of very moderate capacity, and almost totally unacquainted with the state of public affairs. By the advice of this person, she made a solemn acknowledgment of the independence of Portugal, and concluded a dishonourable peace with Louis XIV. The states were much displeased at these proceedings, and unanimously entreated the regent to employ Don Juan, as the only man whom they conceived capable of restoring the credit and sustaining the weight of the government: but, as she was unwilling to adopt a measure which might prejudice her ecclesiastical favourite, she proposed to Don Juan the government of the Low Countries, which he readily accepted. When about to embark for the place of his destination, the prince was informed that his secretary, Don Joseph de Malladas, had been put to death by a warrant from the regent. Hereupon he returned to one of his estates, and formed so powerful a party that, after a few remonstrances, father Nitard thought it advisable to retire into Italy, where he obtained a cardinal's hat; whilst his chagrined mistress was obliged to declare Don Juan lieutenant-general

of Arragon, in order to remove him from the cabinet.

A. D. 1675. Meanwhile Charles II. grew up, and the period arrived for declaring him of age. A few days after the ceremony, his mother required him to sign an act by which he was to acknowledge that, on account of his tender age and inexperience, he still needed the assistance of the queen and her council of regency: but he refused to put his name to it, and said with a determined air, "I hope God, who hath made me a king, will enable me to discharge the duties of my high station, and to become the father of my people." His mother was confounded at this unexpected answer, and to prevent the consequences of it, she is said to have mixed some drugs with his chocolate, which debilitated both his mind and body. Certain it is that, in the course of a few weeks, he lost his wonted spirits, and his future imbecility proved highly detrimental to the interests of his kingdom.

Father Nitard was succeeded, in the queen's council, by Don Hernando de Valenzuela, a young man of great bravery and generosity, but destitute of those qualities which are indispensably necessary for governing. He adhered with strict fidelity to his benefactress; caused the king to be continually surrounded with his creatures; and made some exertions for acquiring the esteem of the populace: but he had no idea of restoring the reputation of the sinking state; and his vanity gave a colour to the popular clamour which was quickly raised against him.

Meanwhile Don Juan, who governed Arragon

with an authority superior to that of its ancient monarchs, derived augmenting respectability from his own judicious conduct. Simple in dress and modest in deportment, he added to the Spanish regularity that spirit which at first gave it reverence, and made the public welfare the first object of his administration. His strict adherence to the Arragonian constitution, and the impartiality of his conduct upon all occasions, were mentioned with rapture at Madrid; and many of the Castilian nobles resolved to use their utmost exertions to place him at the head of government. Accordingly an association was formed for this purpose, and Charles readily consented to a personal interview with Don Juan, in which he learned the true state of his dominions, and the methods by which his groaning subjects might be relieved. In consequence of this interview, the queen mother was removed to Toledo; Valenzuela was degraded, and sent to the Philippines; and Don Juan was honoured, both by plebeians and patricians, as the friend and protector of his country. Shortly after this occurrence, a fruitless and protracted war was terminated between the courts of France and Spain by the treaty of Nimeguen.

The queen, during her administration, had negociated a treaty of marriage between her son and Maria Antonietta, the daughter of the emperor; but Don Juan concluded another with Maria Louisa, daughter of the duke of Orleans. This marriage seems to have been equally satisfactory to the king and the Spanish nobles: yet it was, afterwards, improved into the cause of Don Juan's disgrace; and that

prince was so deeply affected by the base calumnies of his enemies, that he fell ill, and died of a broken heart. He had no sooner expired, than the eyes of the populace were opened to the fallacy of their own prejudices; even his most implacable enemies were convinced of his disinterestedness; and the whole nation acknowledged that in him the virtues of the Spanish house of Austria had made its last effort. The king, however, was so far from regretting his loss, that he went immediately to Toledo, and brought back the queen mother, as if to triumph over the ashes of a man whose zeal for his country had proved inimical to her ambition.

A. D. 1680. Charles, by a strange indecorum, consummated his marriage in one of the poorest villages of Old Castile, whence he conducted the new queen to Burgos, and, afterwards, made a pompous entry into Madrid. The affairs of the Spanish court were at this time, in the greatest perplexity imaginable; for the king was unable to fix upon a minister; the young queen was disgusted with an etiquette so dissonant to her education; the French ambassador delivered his master's haughty messages in a manner which rendered them still more distasteful; and Louis XIV. as if anxious to insult his catholic majesty's circumstances, insisted upon several humiliating concessions to the name and power of France.

After mature deliberation, the duke de Medina Cœli was placed at the head of administration: but his talents proved unequal to his undertaking; and the nation was involved in complete confusion. Unable to redress so many

evils, and confounded at the entire deficiency of funds, he reduced the copper coin from its nominal to its real value, by which absurd measure money was rendered still more scarce and provisions much dearer. The copper was then called in, and his majesty promised to pay its value in six months; but, as his inability was universally known, this only served to increase the public discontent. In this alarming exigence, many of the grandees were obliged to sell or coin their plate; the king's domestics left the palace for want of subsistence; the navy was almost annihilated; the soldiers on the frontiers deserted for want of pay; and even the governors of fortresses quitted their respective charges to represent in person, what they had already represented by letter without effect. Spain was now become truly despicable in the sight of her allies, and her enemies triumphed in her accumulated misfortunes. France made encroachments in Biscay, Rouillon, and the Low Countries; the elector of Brandenburgh seized on a Spanish galleon for the payment of some subsidies that were due to him; and the prince regent of Portugal compelled the unfortunate ministry to relinquish the island of Buenos Ayres, which had been in the possession of their nation for upwards of one hundred and forty years. The death of the queen of France, his catholic majesty's sister, was an additional misfortune to the court of Madrid; and the violence committed by Louis XIV. contrary to the peace of Nimeguen, roused the populace to madness, and overwhelmed the ministry with consternation.

At this distressing conjuncture, the duke de

Medina Cœli resigned his post, in order to free himself from the increasing clamour of the people; but this resignation had no visible effect upon public affairs. The French monarch, under pretence of obtaining an equivalent for the county of Alost, took possession of Courtray and Dixmude; and the Spaniards were consequently driven to the necessity of declaring war: but, as none of their allies chose to provoke the vengeance of the powerful aggressor, their exertions proved entirely fruitless, and they were soon obliged to conclude a truce for twenty years, upon very disadvantageous terms.

A. D. 1684. The dishonourable termination of this war induced his catholic majesty to begin a thorough reformation in the affairs of his kingdom. Accordingly, many foreign commodities were prohibited, in order to correct luxury; some unpopular taxes were repealed; many supernumerary offices were suppressed; and some vigorous exertions were made for the formation of a confederacy which might curb the overgrown power of France. Still, however, the nation resounded with murmurs and loud complaints; and the court was harassed by the intrigues of the queen dowager, who rendered the life of her daughter-in-law completely miserable, and acted towards her, upon various occasions, with savage brutality; interdicting her from attending upon her husband when his ill health required her assiduities, and depriving her as much as possible of the king's company and affection. The young queen died on the 12th of February, not without suspicion of poison; and on the 15th of June following, his majesty espoused the princess Mary Ann, daughter

of the elector Palatine, and sister to the reigning empress.

In consequence of a violation of the late truce on the part of Louis XIV. all commerce was prohibited both in Spain and the Low Countries; and all French effects were seized by an express order from Madrid. The duke de Noailles took the field early on the side of Rousillon, and made himself master of Campredon: but he was so warmly attacked by the duke de Vilhahermosa, that he was compelled to evacuate his new conquest. The Spaniards continued to press the enemy during the remainder of the campaign, and levied some heavy contributions in Rousillon; and in Flanders the French troops were repulsed in some attempts which they made upon four places belonging to his catholic majesty. In Barbary, however, the Spanish arms were attended with less success; for the emperor of Morocco made himself master of Laroche, obliged the garrison to surrender at discretion, and threw most of them into a dungeon. A. D. 1689.

A message from the new pope, Alexander VIII. exhorting the king to peace, occasioned one of the best written answers that ever issued from the court of Madrid. All the insults which Spain had received from the French monarch were strongly set forth; his holiness was reminded that it was become absolutely necessary, for the safety of Christendom, to circumscribe an exorbitant power which had, upon various occasions, injured and oppressed all the states of Europe; and that the present war was perfectly consistent with the duties of Christian princes, bound to protect their subjects against a poten-

tate who, in open defiance of justice, had so frequently violated the most solemn treaties.

A. D. 1691. Shortly after the publication of this manifesto, the duke of Vilahermosa compelled the enemy to retire from Catalonia; the Spanish fleet ravaged the maritime parts of the country near Perpignan; and France perceived, with sensible chagrin, that she was no longer able to make those impressions which had formerly rendered her so formidable to her neighbours. About the same time a plate fleet arrived safely at Cadiz, with thirty millions on board, which enabled his majesty to make some necessary remittances into Italy and the Low Countries. In the month of September, Charles was seized with so violent an indisposition, that his death was generally expected, and the grandees began freely to canvass the succession; some proposing to send for the young archduke, and others insinuating the propriety of adopting the second son of the dauphin. But the king's recovery put an end, for the present, to these intrigues, and the public attention was chiefly turned to the progress of the war.

The coast of Spain seemed to have suffered materially, during this campaign, from the exertions of the French admiral, marshal d'Etrees; marshal Noailles made an irruption into the kingdom of Arragon; and the reduction of Mons in Flanders, overwhelmed the Spanish ministry with terror and amazement. The loss of Mons, however, produced a very good effect; for his catholic majesty resolved immediately to detach, in some measure, these distant dominions from his crown. Accordingly, letters patent were dispatched to his serene highness the

elector of Bavaria, declaring him hereditary governor of the Low Countries, with much greater powers than had been granted to the archduke Leopold, or to Don Juan of Austria.

Whilst the war was carried on with pretty equal success, the Spaniards were universally elated by a rumour of the queen's pregnancy: but this was discovered to be fallacious; and the intrigues for the settlement of the succession were renewed with greater vigour than ever. The queen and the count de Oropesa urged his majesty to decide in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria; but the cardinals Cordova and Portocarrero, with several great politicians, declared in behalf of the emperor's second son. This contention was extremely unpleasant to the reigning prince, as seeming to anticipate the hour of his dissolution; and, except the imperial minister, none of the ambassadors could be persuaded to interfere upon such an occasion.

Marshal de Tourville, after hovering for a considerable time about the Spanish coast, appeared before Roses, in Catalonia, and commenced a bombardment, which soon obliged the governor to capitulate. In the course of the same month, he surprised the Smyrna fleet, between Lagos and Cadiz, destroyed four men of war, and either captured or burnt eighty Dutch and English ships richly laden. About this time, also, his catholic majesty received intelligence of the loss of Charleroi, which had been defended by the marquis of Castile, with a garrison of four thousand five hundred men.

Notwithstanding these heavy misfortunes, Charles steadily rejected all the overtures of the French monarch, and resolved to prosecute the

war with unabated vigour; but, on the duke of Savoy's making a separate peace, and in consequence of the reduction of Barcelona, Ath, and Carthagena, he was compelled to accept of such terms as his allies deemed reasonable. Accordingly, a treaty was signed at the castle of Ryswick, by which most of the recent conquests were mutually restored.

A. D. 1698. As Charles had the double mortification of seeing himself without offspring, and hearing his courtiers perpetually clamouring respecting the succession, he, at length, resolved to make a will in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria, which was strictly consonant with the disposition of his father, Philip IV. and with the renunciations upon which that disposition was founded: but the young prince, whom he had destined for his successor, died soon after this arrangement; and the court of Madrid was again involved in intrigue and perplexity.

In the spring of 1699, his catholic majesty went to visit the tombs of his ancestors at the Escurial, and ordered the coffins of his mother and first queen to be opened. Of the former, nothing was perfect but one hand, which the king kissed and bathed with tears: but the latter remained entire, and even the colour of the face was unchanged; a circumstance which surprised the royal visitor so much, that he immediately retired. This incident occasioned various speculations: but it seems that Philip IV. had done the same in the year 1655; and it was then observed, that the body of Charles V. appeared more fresh than that of his own queen Elizabeth, who died but nine years before.

Shortly after his return from the Escurial, the king appointed Don Francisco de Moles, duke of Pareta, his ambassador to the court of Vienna, with the warmest assurances of affectionate attachment to the reigning family, from whence it was reported, that a new will had been made in favour of the archduke. About this time, the court was thrown into complete confusion by a monk, who affirmed that his majesty was bewitched, and that his ill health resulted from magical charms, and practices with evil spirits. This ridiculous assertion was readily believed, and the king was actually exorcised; but, as he received no sort of benefit, the eyes of the nobles were opened to their own folly, and the ecclesiastic was delivered into the hands of the inquisition. The king's confessor, who had adopted similar notions, was also disgraced, and sent prisoner to a monastery. A. D. 1700.

Upon hearing that the different powers of Europe had actually made a partition of his territories, his catholic majesty wrote to the emperor, and requested him to send the archduke Charles privately into Spain. To this request, however, he received no immediate answer; and his mind became so distracted by the memorials of the allies, the misunderstandings among his own ministers, and his want of a faithful confident, that he frequently traversed his apartment in the utmost perturbation, wringing his hands like one in despair, and exclaiming with all the vehemence of anxious inquietude, "Where is my son? Where is Charles? Where is the archduke?" At length he understood that the emperor had refused to send him; and this intelligence, together with a menacing memorial from

the French minister, threw him into an agony which threatened his immediate dissolution.

After the first violence of his emotions had subsided, Charles seemed to recover strength; and, at the instigation of cardinal Portocarrero, he made a new will in favour of Philip, duke of Anjou. He also wrote to the duke of Pareta, to acquaint him with the state of his health; and his physicians began to entertain such sanguine hopes, that public rejoicings were made, at Madrid and Brussels, for his supposed recovery. But, on the 26th of the month, he relapsed with mortal symptoms, and, after languishing five days, he expired in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. In this prince ended a branch of Austria, which had given five sovereigns to the Spanish nation.

CHAPTER V.

From the Accession of Philip V. to the general Peace of 1801.

AS the late king's testament received the sanction of Louis XIV. and the dauphin, Philip of Anjou was solemnly proclaimed on the 24th of November; on the fourth of the ensuing month he set out for his new dominions, where he was received with every possible mark of esteem and loyalty. There were, indeed, some few persons who entered a protest against the validity of Charles's will: but these were soon removed from the cabinet, and the new sovereign entered his capital amidst the acclamations of a prodigious concourse of spectators. His en-

gaging manners and affable deportment, insensibly won the hearts of the populace; his clemency and piety were equally pleasing to the grandees and ecclesiastics; and his marriage with a lovely and amiable princess of Savoy, operated as a fresh charm upon the whole nation.

Philip honoured the city of Barcelona with the celebration of his nuptials; and in an assembly of the states, convened at the same place, he gave a specimen of his wisdom and equity, which it would be unpardonable to pass over in silence.—A son of the duke de Medina Sidonia, one of the most powerful and opulent noblemen in Spain, had insulted an officer of the revenue who attempted to search his equipage, and, in consequence of some altercation, shot him through the head. Cardinal Portocarrero immediately caused the young lord to be apprehended, and dispatched an account of the whole transaction to Barcelona, as being unwilling to take any steps without the royal command, in such an important affair. Philip, having read the cardinal's letter, called the duke de Medina into his cabinet; and demanded what punishment should be inflicted on the son of a grandee who had killed an officer of the revenue for doing his duty. The duke after some consideration, replied, that the offence was of a very heinous nature; that the young man, let him be of what rank he might, should be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and that his father should be obliged to provide for the widow and family of the deceased. "You have spoken," rejoined his majesty, "upon this occasion like a king, and I must therefore speak to you as a father. The culprit is your own son; send him

A. D. 1701.

to one of your castles, and detain him there till he becomes truly repentant for his fault. With respect to the unhappy family of my officer, I entirely approve of your judgment, and am persuaded that you will cheerfully allow them a handsome maintenance." The duke was deeply affected by this act of his sovereign's clemency; and, from that moment adhered to his interests with unshaken fidelity.

The interests of Spain, with respect to foreign affairs, were now entirely managed by Louis XIV. who displayed equal spirit and prudence in contrivance; but, having outlived all the great ministers who had contributed to the elevation of his glory, he sometimes failed in execution. Though he probably outwitted the allies in adhering to the spirit rather than to the letter of the partition treaty, they took an equal advantage, by persevering in such a conduct as rendered it impossible for him to discern whether they had resolved upon peace or war. His Britannic majesty and the states of Holland acknowledged Philip upon his accession, and the latter, by this act of complaisance, recovered twenty-two battalions of veteran troops that were dispersed in the garrisons of the Low Countries; yet in the beginning of September the grand alliance was signed; which measure would, probably, have been prevented, if France had acted with her wonted energy.

In consequence of a recent insurrection among the Neapolitans, and some other unpleasant circumstances, Philip was obliged to leave his new kingdom and consort, almost as soon as he had received them; and to make a tour into Italy. He was also compelled to rely upon the counsel

and conduct of others; having, as yet, no military experience, and being too young to form such notions of men and things as were requisite in the government of a nation, distracted in councils, divided in affections, and in point of power and treasure almost exhausted. He had, however, the consolation to witness the arrival of the plate-fleet, towards the close of the year, with a cargo of sixty millions; and he fortunately prevented the loss of Cadiz, by refusing admission to the fleet of the allies, which had craftily demanded entrance into the port without commencing hostilities.

A. D. 1702. Having made all the necessary arrangements, and obtained a subsidy of one million from the Catalonians, his majesty embarked at Barcelona, on the 8th of April, and on the 15th of the same month landed in the bay of Naples. His entry into the city, on the next morning, seemed to tranquillize the minds of the people; and his subsequent remission of some heavy arrears, threw them into such a transport of joy, that when the nobility made him a free gift of three hundred thousand ducats, the commons voted him four hundred thousand. He then expressed his intention of passing over to Sicily; but, on hearing that the late Spanish ministry had so cruelly impoverished the nobles of that island as to render it impossible for them to sustain the expence of a royal visit, he contented himself with issuing out orders for the recal of exiles, and the restoration of honours and estates to those persons who had been treated, during the reign of his predecessor, with unjust severity.

Having granted an amnesty to all who had

been concerned in the late troubles, Philip quitted Naples on the 2d of June, and proceeded to the duchy of Milan, whence he repaired to the army. On the 15th of August he signalized himself, with the duke de Vendosme, in the famous battle of Lazara. The Imperialists, being animated by the presence and example of prince Eugene, were very near destroying the united armies of France and Spain; but the leaders of their enemies were equally valiant, and Philip, in particular, gave the most convincing proofs of heroism and patience. At length, after an obstinate conflict and a prodigious effusion of blood, the combatants separated, each side claiming the victory, and singing a solemn Te Deum. The advantage, however, was certainly on the side of the two crowns, for, on the next day, they took Lazara with all the enemy's magazines; and this conquest was speedily followed by the reduction of Burgoforte and Guastalla.

Meanwhile, the queen of Spain opened the states of Arragon, and, leaving them sitting at Saragossa, proceeded to Madrid, where her arrival created universal satisfaction, and effectually damped some sparks of rebellion which had been kindled by an appearance of the enemy's fleet before Cadiz. Upon the first rumour of that circumstance, she declared in council her readiness to go to Andalusia, and even to dispose of her jewels, if supplies were wanting. She also discovered equal firmness after the misfortune at Vigo, where the French marine was nearly ruined, and the Spaniards lost, according to the most moderate accounts, eight millions of gold. On the 20th of September, his catholic majesty returned to Barcelona, and, soon after, to Madrid,

where cardinal Portocarrero still acted as prime minister.

About the middle of January, cardinal d'Etrees arrived at Madrid, with the title of ambassador from his most Christian majesty. A. D. 1730. Upon the advice of this prelate, Philip thought proper to provide for the reception of his confederated enemies; and accordingly issued out orders for recruiting the Spanish infantry, for remounting the cavalry, and for raising a powerful body of standing forces, under the title of "troops of the household." A considerable sum of money was sent about the same time to France, in order to indemnify Louis for the capture of his ships at Vigo, and his subjects for the loss of their property. This measure, however, was loudly condemned by the generality of the Spaniards; the duke de Medina Cœli resigned his employments in disgust; and even the cardinal Portocarrero solicited permission to retire to his diocese of Toledo.

In the mean time, the admirante of Castile, who had treacherously retired into Portugal, with a numerous train and immense sums of money, persuaded the ministers of the allies, that, if the archduke was once declared king of Spain, Philip might be easily dethroned; that the majority of the Spaniards were warmly attached to the house of Austria; and that it was rather the irresolution of Vienna than the succours of France, which had hitherto maintained the son of the dauphin in possession of the Castilian diadem. Upon these assurances, his faithful majesty entered into the grand alliance; Leopold and his son made a solemn renunciation of all their pretensions; and the archduke was publicly

declared king of Spain, at Vienna, by the name of Charles III.

These proceedings, together with some vindictive manifestoes, published by the archduke and the king of Portugal, induced Philip to draw up a declaration, in which he established his right upon the fairest grounds, and observed that he had been solemnly acknowledged by those very powers which were now engaged to strip him of the regal dignity. This declaration, however, had no effect; and the allies resolved to execute their project by force of arms.

After his catholic majesty had taken and demolished several places on the frontiers of Portugal, and defeated a considerable part of the English and Dutch auxiliaries, the fleet of the allies, under the command of Sir George Rooke, reduced the important fortress of Gibraltar, which they left under the protection of the prince of Darmstadt and a numerous garrison. An engagement soon afterward took place between the confederates and the French fleet, in which both parties claimed the victory: but Sir George Rooke had so little ammunition, that his obliging the enemy to retire, added as much to his reputation as the most decisive victory would have done, if it had been gained previously to his conquest of Gibraltar.

In the present distressing exigence, Philip found it equally impossible to defend his dominions without levying new taxes, and to impose those national burdens without exciting perpetual murmurs, and frequent insurrections. He had the mortification to perceive that his subjects persisted in their aversion to the customs of France; and the commerce of his kingdom was

so effectually ruined, that he was obliged to permit even his enemies to resume it, provided they made use of neutral vessels. However, he made some efforts which were equally consistent with his royal character, and necessary for the preservation of his crown. He established a fund for the maintenance of the army, and prudently supplied its deficiencies by borrowing of the treasurer of the French troops. He raised a numerous body of household troops, after the example of his grandfather, and contrived to draw many young men of respectable families to enter into his service. He also fixed a cabinet council, and took every possible precaution for the general safety of his people.

Conscious of the importance of Gibraltar, and eager to wrest it from its new possessors, Philip sent the marquis de Villadarias to besiege it, in the month of October; but, after a prodigious loss both of men and money, the project was found impracticable, and consequently relinquished.

In the ensuing spring, the Portuguese and their allies invested Salvaterra, and bribed the governor to open the gates: but the garrison, consisting of four hundred and thirty men, chose to be conducted prisoners to Lisbon, rather than to take up arms against their lawful sovereign. Valencia de Alcantara made a vigorous defence; for the governor Alonzo de Mariaga, sustained five tremendous assaults; and when he surrendered, his remaining troops seized the arms of their escort, and made their escape. The reduction of Albuquerque in Estramadura, terminated this campaign.

Philip's distress at the loss of these places, was

sensibly augmented by the intrigues of his rebellious admirante. A plot was discovered at Granada, for murdering the garrison; another, of a similar nature, was accidentally detected at Valencia; and, after some time, it appeared that a project had been formed to secure the persons of their catholic majesties at Buen Retiro, and to carry them prisoners to Lisbon, or, in case of resistance, to assassinate them by the way. As this discovery involved the marquis de Leganez, governor of Buen Retiro, in suspicion, he was arrested and sent prisoner to Pampeluna: but he was afterward permitted to remove into France, and lived in universal esteem at Paris, whilst the disappointed admirante fell ill at Lisbon, and eventually died of a broken heart.

A grand fleet of the allies, commanded by the earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed from Lisbon to Catalonia, where they landed a body of ten thousand men, and laid close siege to Barcelona. Hereupon Francisco de Velasco, Philip's viceroy, called a meeting of the inhabitants, and told them that any person who chose might now go out to the besiegers; but that, if he discovered any treachery afterward, he would punish it with relentless severity; but no one accepted of this proposal. When the prince of Darmstadt made the first attack, he met with a desperate resistance, which proved fatal to himself and about five hundred English troops: but the earl of Peterborough brought up such a powerful reinforcement, that the fortress of Montjuic was soon carried, and Barcelona was surrendered on capitulation. All Catalonia, except Roses, now declared for the arch-

duke, and the kingdom of Valencia followed this example.

After mature deliberation, and a promise of ample succours from France, his catholic majesty marched toward Barcelona with an army of twenty thousand men, while the count de Thoulouse blocked it up by sea, and the duke of Noailles brought a numerous body of troops into the field, in order to prevent the Catalonians from disturbing the siege. However, in consequence of several delays, and various untoward circumstances, the count de Thoulouse was eventually compelled to withdraw his squadron, and Philip was obliged to retire, with the mortification of leaving not only his artillery and magazines, but even his sick and wounded adherents, to the mercy of the allies.

Upon the subsequent success of the confederates at Alcantara, Ciudad, Rodrigo, and Salamanca, M. Amelot, the French ambassador, held a kind of assembly of the nobles, at Madrid; and begged to be favoured with an explicit declaration of their sentiments, since his most Christian majesty had no inclination to impose his grandson upon them, and it was become absolutely necessary that they should consider for whom, and by what means they would act for restoring the blessings of tranquillity and of a legal government to their country. The duke de Medina Cœli answered, in the name of the grandees, that, although they had received some unjust slights and other causes of complaint under the present government, yet they were inviolably attached to king Philip, and both their lives and fortunes should be cheerfully devoted to his service. This answer gave full satisfaction;

and, after some consideration, the royal family retired to Burgos.

The army of the allies, as had been expected, marched directly into New Castile, and took possession of Madrid; but, as the archduke was fully engaged in the reduction of Arragon, and the earl of Peterborough was employed before Valencia, they were soon expelled by the united forces of France and Spain, and forced to retreat to the strong camp of Guadalaxara. Philip then returned to his capital, and took the most vigilant methods for re-establishing his affairs. All the nobles who had declared for Charles III. were punished with banishment, and confiscation of their estates; several hereditary offices of great profit were annexed to the crown; and voluntary contributions were drawn from the clergy by a well-timed representation of the effects which must result from the success of heretics. About this time the count de Villars recovered the island of Minorca, which had thrown off its allegiance; and the populace were delighted by a declaration of the queen's pregnancy.

A. D. 1707. Early in the spring of this year, the marquis de las Minas and the earl of Galway took the field, with about sixteen thousand horse and foot, in order to destroy the Spanish magazines, and to cover the kingdom of Valencia from the attacks of marshal Berwick. Upon their resolving to besiege the castle of Villuna, the marshal marched to its relief, and a battle ensued, in the plains of Almanza, which terminated in the utter defeat of the allies. The marquis de las Minas was dangerously wounded, and his mistress, who had ac-

companied him in an Amazonian habit, was killed by his side. The earl of Galway had also two wounds in the face, which prevented him from giving orders; colonel Hill with the remains of thirteen battalions were made prisoners on the banks of the Xucar; and one hundred and twenty standards, with all the baggage and artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Shortly after this victory, the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia were reduced and deprived of their privileges. The city of Saragossa was mulcted, on this occasion, in a fine of forty-five thousand pistoles, and a column of infamy was erected on the ruins of Xativa. After some time, however, a royal edict was promulgated, by which the nobles of Arragon and Valencia were rendered capable of all offices and honours throughout his majesty's dominions, and permission was granted to rebuild Xativa, under the name of St. Philip.

The 25th of August was marked by the birth of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Lewis, and acknowledged presumptive heir to the crown of Castile, and all its dependencies. Cardinal Portocarrero made a present, upon this occasion, of five thousand pistoles to the royal treasury; the queen dowager made public rejoicings for three days at Bayonne; and many of the grandees who had withdrawn themselves from court, embraced so favourable an opportunity of making their peace with the king. In the month of October, Charles III. espoused the princess of Wolfenbuttle, and by his return from the army, stifled a dangerous sedition in Barcelona, where the people had begun to apprehend that they were unjustly abandoned, and that

they should soon be exposed to the same vengeance as had recently fallen upon the people of Arragon and Valencia.

In the ensuing year, Philip was sensibly chagrined by the desertion of a small squadron under count de Santa Cruz, and the subsequent loss of the fortress of Oran, which, for many years, had been defended against the infidels. He also heard that general Stanhope had reduced the island of Minorca, and that the archduke's partisans had used their utmost endeavours to excite a revolution in Sicily: but he received material consolation by the safe arrival of his galleons, which were laden with twelve hundred thousand pieces of eight, besides nine hundred thousand sent as a present to the young prince of Asturias.

A. D. 1709. Upon assurance that his grandfather had been compelled to treat of a separate peace, Philip, with the advice of his best friends, resolved to place all his affairs on a Spanish foundation, and to throw himself entirely on the affections of his people. Accordingly, the duke de Medina Celi was placed at the head of the administration; the marquis de Bedmar was declared secretary of war; the French ambassador was ordered to quit the kingdom; and several domestics belonging to the duke of Orleans were treated with great severity. To complete the whole, as soon as the allies had published their preliminaries, his catholic majesty addressed circular letters to all his subjects, in which he exaggerated the cruelty of his enemies, in compelling his grandfather not only to abandon his interests, but even to assist in wresting the sceptre from his hand; yet, he said, in this they did him honour, since it showed their opi-

sion that he would defend himself to the utmost extremity—an opinion justly founded; as he was really determined to die at the head of the last Spanish army, and to tinge the beloved earth of Castile with his blood. This declaration produced its desired effect; for the general assembly of the clergy immediately granted a free gift; the grandees cheerfully gave up their plate to be converted into coin; and a spirit of loyal enthusiasm diffused itself through the whole nation. About this time, the marquis de Baye defeated the Portuguese army, in the plain of Gudina, and took fifteen hundred prisoners.

In the course of the following spring, his catholic majesty received a timely supply by the arrival of a plate-fleet at Cadiz; and the Spanish subjects were universally charmed by his equity in imprisoning two French captains who had attempted to sail home with their cargoes in contempt of the royal order. The sudden and unexpected disgrace of the prime minister, on the 15th of April, is thus related.—"About eight o'clock in the evening, his majesty called the duke de Medina Celi into his cabinet, and, after a short conversation, directed him to go to the secretary of state's office to inquire for some dispatches. The duke readily obeyed: but, on his arrival at the office, he was arrested, and conducted, in a coach-and-six, to a castle near Segovia. When the officer parted from him he presented him with a night gown, a box of chocolate, a purse of gold, and some other necessaries; observing that the king had taken care to provide them for his accommodation."

After much speculation on this singular oc-

currence, it was given out that the duke had held an improper correspondence with the king's enemies, and a junto, appointed to examine his papers, condemned him to suffer death; but Philip thought proper to change that sentence into perpetual imprisonment.

In the ensuing campaign, Philip's army was totally routed, near Saragossa, by count Starembergh, and Charles III. took possession of Madrid; but, after some time, the aspect of affairs was totally changed, and his catholic majesty returned in triumph to his capital. He then crossed the Tagus, and surrounded general Stanhope, who had retired, with eight battalions and four regiments of cavalry, to the little town of Brihuega. The besieged troops made a vigorous defence, and resolutely disputed every inch of ground with their assailants; but a general shower of tiles and stones from the tops of the houses compelled them to surrender prisoners of war. About the same time count Starembergh was defeated, with considerable loss, at Villaviciosa.

The duke de Vendosme distinguished himself in so signal a manner upon these occasions, that the populace universally saluted him as the deliverer of their country; and Philip demonstrated his gratitude, at a review, by putting into his hand an order for fifty thousand pieces of eight for his equipage. The duke appeared rather surprised; but, turning suddenly to the troops, "These," said he, "are the brave men who fixed the fortune of Spain at Villaviciosa; and these only are deserving of the royal favour." He accordingly distributed the whole sum in necessaries among the private men. Soon after

this occurrence, Charles III. quitted Barcelona in order to return to his hereditary dominions; intelligence was brought to Madrid of the emperor's death, and negociations for peace were privately commenced.

At the beginning of this year a congress for a general peace was opened, with the usual ceremonies, at Utrecht: but Philip's plenipotentiaries did not repair thither, as being apprised that, till their master's title was acknowledged, they could not be received. About this time, the king disgraced the count d'Aguilar, lieutenant-general and captain of the guards, who had been long famed for his conduct, zeal, and fidelity, but who unfortunately possessed a violent temper. He submitted with perfect magnanimity to his misfortune, and spent the remainder of his days in tranquil retirement. In the month of June, Spain was deprived of her most gallant defender by the sudden death of the duke de Vendosme, whose remains were interred in the Escurial, with the same honours which had been paid to those of Don Juan of Austria. A. D. 1712.

By Philip's solemn renunciation of all pretensions to the crown of France, and by an alteration * of the rule of succession, made by a general assembly of the states, the greatest obstacle that retarded the restoration of peace was done away; and, after some time, a definitive treaty was concluded, A. D. 1713.

* An entail was made, in case of failure, on the house of Savoy, to the perpetual exclusion of that of Austria. The crown was also settled on the next heir male; whereas hitherto, females, if nearest in blood, had been capable of succeeding.

by which the kingdom of Spain, with all its rich possessions in America and the Indies, was transferred from the house of Austria to that of Bourbon; and Philip recognized the protestant succession of England as settled in the illustrious house of Hanover. Satisfactory cessions were, also, made to the duke of Savoy, the United Provinces, and the king of Portugal.

On the demise of his first queen, Philip married the princess Elizabeth of Parma: a measure which was taken at the instigation of cardinal Alberoni, who deserved the confidence of the royal pair, by restoring the navy, which was supposed to have been totally exhausted; and by rendering the Spanish monarchy formidable to all the powers of Europe. The courts of France and England, however, were so violently alarmed at the extraordinary talents of this minister, that they entered into a league to effect his removal from Madrid, and he was eventually compelled to seek an asylum at Rome.

Elizabeth has been justly accused of disturbing, by her ambition, the tranquillity of Spain: but it appears that she was less embarrassed by governing the state than by accommodating herself to the whimsical, irresolute, and obstinate disposition of her husband. She gave way, though reluctantly, to a resolution which he formed of abdicating the throne in favour of his son Lewis; but the death of that prince restored her, in less than a twelvemonth, to her former dignity. She exerted herself in a surprising manner for the establishment of her children out of Spain, as the crown of that kingdom had devolved on Ferdinand, son of the princess of

Savoy; and she actually procured for her eldest son, Don Carlos, the kingdom of Naples, with Parma, Placentia, and other appendages in Italy. Philip V. died in 1744, after a turbulent reign of forty-three years.

His successor, Ferdinand VI. appears to have been a mild and equitable prince. He concluded the peace of Aix la Chapelle, and made some laudable exertions for the reformation of national abuses and the promotion of commerce: but the tranquillity of his reign has furnished little matter for the pen of an historian. In private life his virtues shone with peculiar lustre, and his conjugal attachment was so sincere, that he found it impossible to dispel the deep melancholy which resulted from the loss of his beloved consort. He expired in 1759, after having held the reins of government fifteen years; and his remains were deposited, with equal pomp and solemnity, in the convent of the visitation at Madrid.

As Ferdinand deceased without issue, the Spanish crown devolved upon his brother Charles III. then king of Naples and the two Sicilies. Accordingly that prince, by a solemn act of settlement, transferred his Italian possessions to his third son;* and hastened to Madrid, to receive the homage of his new subjects. The commencement of his reign was perfectly tranquil; and Charles seemed to devote his whole attention to the internal economy of his dominions; but his zeal for the family compact of the house of Bourbon soon roused A. D. 1759.

* The eldest son was excluded on account of his mental imbecility, after a minute examination by the king's physicians.

him into action, and induced him to declare war against Great Britain on the 19th of January 1761, and against Portugal on the 16th of June following. This war, however, proved very unsuccessful; and on the tenth of February, 1763, a treaty of peace was concluded between the courts of Madrid, Lisbon, and London.

A. D. 1756. Charles III. seems to have exposed himself to great danger by a fruitless attempt to introduce the French dress and customs into his dominions: for, in consequence of a severe edict against the use of flapped hats and *long* cloaks, which from time immemorial have been worn by the Spaniards, violent disturbances broke out, on the twenty-third of March, at Madrid, in which upwards of eighty soldiers were killed, the house of the marquis de Squillacci was demolished, and the rioters, consisting of near thirty thousand persons, surrounded the palace in so tumultuous a manner, that his catholic majesty deemed it expedient to show himself from a balcony, and to silence their clamour by promising to dismiss his Italian ministers, to repeal the late offensive edict, and to pardon all that had passed on the present occasion. Upon these concessions the multitude left the palace; and, in their return, happened to meet the English ambassador, whom they saluted with loud and repeated acclamations of "Viva' la libertaa';" some of their leaders then requested his lordship to put on his cloak and beaver; and on his prompt compliance, they exclaimed, as with one voice, "No French fashions; peace with England, and war with all the world beside!" The mutineers now dispersed to their respective homes, and the most perfect tranquillity was, in a few hours, restored to the capital:

but, on the departure of the king and royal family for Aranjuez, a fresh commotion was excited, and even the women rushed, like maniacs, into the street, bearing lighted torches in their hands, and joining the general cry of "Viva Espagna!"

A deputation was, at length, sent to Aranjuez, complaining of the king's doubt of their fidelity, and requesting that the court would return in order to grace the capital with the usual procession on Holy Thursday. They received for answer, that his Majesty could not possibly return, as being severely indisposed; but that he would grant them a general pardon, and fulfil all his promises relative to the marquis de Squillacci, and the abrogation of the obnoxious edict. These assurances, and the subsequent departure of the Italian minister, gave peace to the kingdom: and loyal addresses were presented to his majesty from several places which had recently resounded with threats of riots and insurrections. About the same time some disturbances broke out in Quito, the capital of the Spanish government of Peru; and the bishop of that place, in attempting to escape, was made a prisoner.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, has been justly reckoned among the most remarkable events of the eighteenth century. That a nation so violently attached to the popish religion, and so bigoted to the views and interests of the papal court, should suddenly crush and almost annihilate a religious order which had its birth and nurture in itself, is truly astonishing: nor is it less worthy of admiration that this mighty blow was struck without the least disturbance. The king's

A. D. 1767.

ordinance upon this occasion, seems to have been the result of a council held on the twenty-ninth of January; yet the Jesuits were surprised in their beds, on the thirty-first of March following, without the least intimation of impending danger. Finding their houses surrounded by large detachments of regular troops, and being acquainted with the royal command, they packed up such things as were requisite for their journey, and set out to Carthagena under the escort of a strong and numerous guard—chaises, waggons, and other carriages having been secured and distributed in proper places to accelerate their departure. All this was effected without any disturbance; so that the inhabitants of Madrid knew nothing of the matter till the next morning.

On the third day, the Jesuits' college at Barcelona was invested by a detachment of troops; the members were sent off under a strong guard; and their effects were immediately sealed up. Similar measures were taken at the same hour, in every part of Spain; and the prisoners were conveyed, by different embarkations, to Italy. The king then published his pragmatic sanction, or royal ordinance, by which, among other injunctions, the sufferers were positively forbidden to write any apologies or justifications contrary to the respect due to the said ordinance; and silence was strictly urged upon all his majesty's subjects who desired to escape the pains and penalties of high treason.

Meanwhile, the news of this event was received at Rome with inexpressible astonishment; and the first intelligence was almost immediately followed by the arrival of fourteen transports, with nine hundred and seventy Jesuits on board,

at Civita Vecchia. The pope, however, having consulted a conclave of cardinals, positively forbade their reception in the ecclesiastical state; and sent two couriers to Madrid to expostulate with his catholic majesty on the impropriety of so sudden a measure, and to remind him, that, although he had an indisputable right to treat his own subjects as he thought proper, yet he could not oblige any other sovereign to give them an asylum. No notice, however, was taken of these representations; and the miserable fugitives, after wandering about the seas, enduring numberless hardships, and finding every port shut against them, were, at last, happy to find an asylum in the steril island of Corsica.

Some time after the adjustment of this business, prodigious preparations were made, in Spain, for an invasion of Algiers; and the armament was provided with such immense stores of provision, and other necessaries, as seemed calculated for the establishment and support of a numerous colony. At length the whole force assembled at Carthagena, and is said to have consisted of seven sail of the line of seventy-four guns each; eight of forty guns; thirty-two frigates from twenty to thirty-six guns; and about twenty smaller vessels of various constructions; with four hundred transports, and nineteen thousand seamen and marines; besides twenty-two thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and a numerous train of artillery, all composed of the most distinguished regiments in Spain. The marine was commanded by Don Pedro Castejon, and the land forces by count O'Reily, who

A. D. 1775.

had acquired great reputation in the Spanish service.

In the beginning of July this formidable fleet arrived in the bay of Algiers, where the commanders found every appearance of a vigorous defence. A false attack was made upon some forts near the town, in order to favour the debarkation of the troops; but though the Spaniards easily effected a landing, they found all the neighbouring hills covered with Moors, who evinced the utmost impatience to engage them: and, after an obstinate engagement of thirteen hours, the Spaniards were obliged to retire, and to take the immediate advantage of the night for a re-embarkation.

A. D. 1779. When the war between England and her American colonies had subsisted for some time, and France had taken part with the latter, the court of Madrid thought proper to recal their ambassador from London, and to commence hostilities against his Britannic majesty. Accordingly, they laid siege to Gibraltar, and made some great naval preparations: but all their exertions proved totally unavailing against an enemy who had so long and so ably retained the dominion of the seas.

It appears from several concurring circumstances that the Spanish commanders in America and the West Indies had been acquainted with the intended rupture between Spain and England, long before the declaration presented by their minister to the court of London. And to this pre-intelligence may be ascribed the subsequent loss of the British settlements on the Mississippi and the capture of the troops destined

for their protection. But this conquest was soon counterbalanced by an ignominious repulse from the bay of Honduras, the reduction of fort Omoa, and the loss of several register ships.

Early in the ensuing year, his catholic majesty received intelligence that Sir George Rodney had taken a Spanish fleet, consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, under convoy of a sixty-four gun ship, four frigates of from twenty-six to thirty-two guns, and two smaller armed vessels; that he had also captured the greatest part of a squadron under the command of Don Juan Langara; and that he had, in spite of every precaution, relieved the fortress of Gibraltar.

In consequence of this intelligence, the Spaniards redoubled their vigilance to cut off all future relief from Gibraltar, and a scheme was concerted for destroying a little squadron which had hitherto checked the ardour of their enterprise. Accordingly, seven fire-ships, supported by a crowd of row-boats and galleys, were sent, on a very dark night, against the enemy, while a squadron of Spanish vessels under the admiral Don Barcello, stood near the entrance of the bay, to cover the attack and to intercept any ships which might attempt to escape. The British commanders and seamen, however, exerted themselves with such astonishing boldness and presence of mind, that this project was utterly frustrated, and the Spaniards had the mortification to see even their fire-ships grappled and towed off amidst the bursting of shells and all the horrors of a scene which teemed with destruction.

Though the Spaniards laboured assiduously in pushing on their works toward the fortress, they

had frequently the mortification of seeing the fruits of much time and ingenuity destroyed in a few hours, by the weight of fire from the batteries, and their chagrin was insensibly increased by a sally of the besieged, in which they lost three pieces of cannon. These circumstances, together with the vexation of being baffled by a handful of men, inspired the besiegers with a project which soon occasioned much trouble to the garrison. This was the framing a number of gun-boats which might carry very heavy cannon and mortars for the purpose of bombarding the town, whilst their own lowness and the difficulty of perceiving objects would necessarily preserve them from the fire of the garrison. But the effect of these floating batteries was not fully experienced till the ensuing year.

In the mean time the court of Madrid was fully occupied in devising schemes for replenishing an exhausted treasury, and for prosecuting a war which seems to have been founded entirely upon Bourbon principles, in opposition to the general will of the nation. The influence of the ministry, and a jealousy of national honour, however, induced several cities, communities, and even individuals to contribute largely to the exigency of the state. The archbishop of Toledo, in particular, appropriated the whole of his vast revenues to the support of the war, during the time of its continuance. Historical justice obliges us to add, that the British prisoners received the most distinguishing marks of kindness and respect from the generality of the Spanish grandees. This year the Spaniards effected the reduction of fort Mobille, and the junction of their fleet with that of France threatened the British

islands in America with imminent danger: but a raging sickness, which broke out among their troops, and the heavy loss which their squadron sustained, by a hurricane, in its way to West Florida, damped the ardour of their commanders, and retarded their operations. Pensacola, however, was, about this time, added to their conquests.

Eager to recover the important fortress of Gibraltar, which had recently received fresh supplies from England, A. D. 1782. the Spaniards lavished their treasures with an unsparing hand, and the whole labour of the nation seemed exhausted in the stupendous works which were now raised before that place. One hundred and seventy pieces of cannon of the heaviest metal discharged their tremendous torrents of fire, at once, upon that narrow spot, and the bombardment was continued for such a considerable time, without intermission, that not only the fortress but the rock itself was actually menaced with destruction. It has been said, that the view of this scene was dreadfully sublime and splendidly magnificent from the neighbouring hills of Spain and Barbary, during the night; especially in the beginning, when, the cannonade being returned with equal power and fierceness by general Elliot, the whole rock seemed to disgorge a tremendous mass of fire, and all distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke.

Notwithstanding the unprecedented fury of this attack, the loss of the garrison was much less than could have been imagined, even without considering the narrowness of the ground they defended, its elevated situation above the

works, and the great proportion of men who were continually exposed in the duty or relief of guards. The town and its inhabitants, however, received the whole weight of the cannonade and bombardment, and a scene of carnage took place there, to which the most animated description must be inadequate. Mothers and children, locked in each other's arms, were so completely blown to pieces by the bombs, that their shattered fragments seemed rather annihilated than dispersed: whole families were crushed beneath the ruins of their houses; wretched fugitives who ran for shelter to the more remote parts of the rock were overwhelmed by the fires from the adjacent gun-boats; and ladies of the most delicate habits and constitutions deemed it the greatest felicity to find a temporary security and repose in the casemates, which resounded with the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the heart-rending groans of those who had been dangerously wounded in defending the works.

Hitherto, general Elliot had acted with extreme caution, not only out of tenderness for the lives of his men, but also to prevent a waste of his ammunition. But as he now perceived that the Spanish works had arrived at their highest state of perfection, he considered this as the proper season of attempting their destruction. Accordingly, at an appointed hour, a strong detachment issued from the garrison, and divided itself into three columns, by which means the besiegers' works were every where attacked at the same instant, and then the fury of the assailants proved totally irresistible. Confounded by this vigorous and unexpected attack, the Spaniards gave way on every side, and gazed in

silent horror on the ruin of those prodigious works, in which the hopes of all Spain were centered. The most wonderful exertions were made, in the mean time, by the English, whose pioneers and artillery-men spread their fires with such rapidity that, in half an hour, two mortar batteries, with all the lines of approach, traverse, and communication, were in flames; the mortars and cannon were spiked; their carriages and platforms destroyed; and the magazines blown up in regular succession. The assailants then returned to the garrison with very inconsiderable loss.

After a long and obstinate resistance, fort St. Philip was surrendered to the combined armies of France and Spain; but as the conquest resulted entirely from the sick and reduced state of the garrison, their governor obtained all the honours of war on his capitulation. "So tragical a spectacle, and at the same time so glorious to the sufferers (says an elegant writer) has not often been beheld, as the poor remains of this garrison exhibited in their march through the Spanish and French armies, which were drawn up in opposite lines for their passage. Six hundred old, emaciated and decrepid soldiers were followed by one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery and two hundred seamen; and about twenty Corsicans with a somewhat greater number of Greeks, Moors, and Turks, closed the procession." When the battalions came to the place appointed for laying down their arms, the soldiers energetically exclaimed that they surrendered them to God and not to the enemy. The Spaniards seem to have been deeply affected upon this interesting occasion;

and their subsequent behaviour towards the prisoners reflected the highest honour on their humanity.

Ambition, honour, pride and revenge now concurred in urging the Spaniards to the utmost exertions of power and of skill for the reduction of a place which had hitherto defied their most vigorous assaults, and baffled all their projects. It was, therefore, with extreme pleasure that Charles listened to the plans of chevalier de Arcon, a French engineer of great reputation, and the Spanish courtiers were so confident of success that they seemed to expect the *annihilation* of the fortress, in case the garrison should persist in their obstinacy.

The subsequent preparations were beyond example; for no less than twelve thousand pieces of heavy ordnance were accumulated before the place for the numerous intended purposes of attack by sea and land; the quantities of military stores and ammunition were so immense as to exceed credibility; eighty gun-boats and bomb-vessels, besides a floating battery and five bomb ketches on the usual construction, were appointed to second the efforts of the great battering ships: nearly all the frigates and smaller armed vessels of the kingdom were assembled to afford requisite assistance; and the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to about fifty ships of the line, were to cover and support the attack.

Nor were the preparations by land any way inferior to those by sea. The duke de Crillon was assisted by a prodigious number of able officers, and gallant volunteers, who had been drawn, by the length and celebrity of the siege, from every

part of Europe; twelve thousand French troops were brought to diffuse their peculiar vivacity through the Spanish army; and the general enthusiasm was augmented by the presence of two French princes (the count de Artois, and the duke de Bourbon) who seemed particularly desirous of partaking in the glory of so illustrious an enterprise, as the recovery of Gibraltar to the Spanish crown.

The arrival of the French princes occasioned a display of politeness and generosity which we cannot persuade ourselves to pass over in silence. —Some packets directed to the officers in Gibraltar, having fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, were transmitted to Madrid, where they lay when the count de Artois arrived at that capital. The prince conceiving this to be a pleasing introduction to a generous enemy, obtained the packets from his catholic majesty, and actually conveyed them, under his own care, to the camp. The duke de Crillon, also, sent a very polite letter, and a present of fruit and vegetables to governor Elliot. But, although that gentleman acknowledged those favours in the most polite manner, his resolution continued unshaken, and he even ventured, by sudden and unexpected insult, to provoke his combined enemies to the attack.

In the morning of the 8th of September, a vigorous cannonade, and bombardment with red-hot balls, shells, and carcases, commenced from the garrison, and was supported through the day with such extraordinary skill and dexterity, that two of the Spanish batteries were entirely consumed, together with their gun-carriages, platforms, and magazines: great part of the com-

munications to the eastern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet, were also destroyed ; and the allied armies, in attempting to stop the progress of the flames, were thrown into complete confusion.

In consequence of this attack, the Spanish and French commanders resolved to precipitate their measures under the expectation of taking an ample revenge. Accordingly a new battery of sixty-four heavy cannon was opened early on the next morning, which with the cannon in their lines, and about sixty mortars, continued to discharge their shot and shells against the garrison for the remainder of the day. At the same time, a squadron of nine ships of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels, dropped down from the head of the bay, and passing slowly along the works, discharged their shot at the south bastion and the ragged staff, continuing their cannonade till they had passed Europa Point, and got into the Mediterranean. Captain Curtis, however, and his marine corps, defended the batteries on the point with such firmness and intrepidity, that the Spaniards were soon compelled to retire, and two of their ships were so materially damaged, that they were forced to send them to Algeziras to refit.

On the 13th of September, the combined fleets, consisting of twenty-seven Spanish, and twelve French ships of the line, arrived from Cadiz, and, with those already drawn up, amounted to forty-eight sail of the line. The battering ships were, also, in perfect readiness : and the cannon, mortars, and howitzers, on the isthmus, were so contrived, that every quarter might present a similar face of danger to the garrison, and that the

resistance might be rendered unequal to the force and weight of the grand attack. The adjacent hills, at the same time, were covered with anxious spectators; and it seemed as if all Spain had assembled to witness the united powers of gunpowder and artillery, in the highest state of discovery and improvement.

Notwithstanding these tremendous preparations, general Elliot retained his accustomed firmness, and returned the attack with such fury, as utterly astonished the commanders of the allied armies. The number of red-hot balls, which the battering ships received in the course of the day, was estimated at upwards of four thousand; and while these vessels seemed to be the principal objects of vengeance, the whole extent of the peninsula seemed overwhelmed with the torrents of fire that were incessantly poured upon it.

The construction of the battering ships was so well calculated, for resisting the action of fire, that, for several hours, the prodigious cannonade from the garrison seemed totally ineffectual. About two o'clock, however, the admiral's ship, and that commanded by the prince of Nassau, were perceived to be in a perilous situation, and by the evening, the fire from the fortress had gained a decided superiority. This circumstance gave fresh animation to the besieged, who continued their exertions with unabated vigour through the night; and about one o'clock in the morning, the two first ships were enveloped in flames, and the confusion became general. Numbers of rockets were now thrown up as signals of extreme danger, and all possible means were immediately used by the fleet to render the necessary

assistance; but those were only directed to bringing off the men, as it was deemed impossible to remove the battering ships, and the danger from those vessels appeared no less dreadful than the fire from the garrison.

At this important juncture, captain Curtis drew up his gun-boats in such a manner as to flank the line of battering ships, which were now completely overwhelmed by incessant torrents of fire. This unexpected attack wrought up the scene to the highest point of calamity; for the Spanish boats were compelled to retire, and to leave their wretched friends exposed to the devouring flames, or to the mercy of an irritated enemy.

It was supposed that nothing could have exceeded the horrors of the night; but the break of day disclosed a scene still more dreadful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames, wringing their hands and imploring succour; others floating upon pieces of timber, were exposed to an equal, though less shocking, fate; and even those in the ships, where the fire had as yet made little progress, expressed, by their looks and gestures, all the horrors of confirmed despair.

This was a glorious opportunity for the exertion of British humanity; and such exertions were soon made by the marine brigade, and their intrepid commander, as have conferred immortal honour on their names and nation. Upon the first appearance of the general distress, the firing from the garrison and gun-boats ceased; and the marine brigade (though exposed to the most imminent peril from the blowing up of the ships, as the fire reached their magazines, and from the

continual discharge of artillery, as the guns on every side became heated) rushed on board the burning vessels, and dragged the distracted sufferers out of the midst of the flames. In these extraordinary efforts, captain Curtis was peculiarly distinguished; and his life was repeatedly in extreme danger. Providence, however, smiled on his humane intentions, and he had the matchless satisfaction of saving about four hundred individuals from impending destruction. Great numbers, however, perished; and, it is supposed, according to the most moderate computation, that the Spaniards lost upwards of fifteen hundred men, including the prisoners and wounded, in the naval attack. The loss sustained under the prodigious fire thrown upon the isthmus, during the whole time of attack, cannot be ascertained.

On the side of the garrison, the loss was much less than could have been supposed; and was chiefly confined to the corps of artillery, and to the marine brigade. Nor was the injury done to the works, sufficient to give any future apprehension, or to hold any proportion, with the immense weight of fire they had sustained.

The Spaniards now rested all their hopes on the defeat of lord Howe, who had been sent out with a fleet for the relief of Gibraltar: but various causes prevented the designed engagement; and the British commander, after executing his commission, sailed back to England.

The sad catastrophe of their armada before Gibraltar, the repeated frustration of all their designs upon Jamaica, and the very embarrassed state of their finances, induced the Spaniards to put a termination to so A. D. 1783.

long, expensive, and sanguinary a war. Accordingly, on the cession of Minorca, and of East and West Florida by his Britannic majesty, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded, between the courts of Madrid and St. James's, on the 3d of September. Other treaties being concluded, about the same time, between the various contending powers, happily put an end to the calamities of war, both in the old and the new world.

A. D. 1784. No sooner had Europe been cheered by the proclamation of a general peace, than the court of Madrid resolved to undertake a fresh expedition against the Algerines, whose hostile exertions, both in the Ocean and the Mediterranean, had exceeded every thing that had been known since the time of the Barbarossas. Accordingly a combined fleet of Spanish, Maltese, Portuguese, and Neapolitan vessels sailed to Algiers, in the month of July; and commenced an attack, by which several boats were destroyed, and the town was set on fire in several places. But the infidels fought with such irresistible fury, and their coast was covered with such powerful artillery, that it was deemed advisable to abandon the enterpize.

In the ensuing summer, his catholic majesty curtailed the powers of the inquisition, and decreed that all the future proceedings of that tribunal should be publicly conducted. He also prohibited the celebration of bull feasts, excepting only upon occasions where the profits arising from them were assigned to some charitable, benevolent or patriotic purpose. These regulations were soon followed by others of greater importance: and the court, the nobility, and all the higher classes of the nation,

seemed to be inspired, at the same time, with the spirit of promoting a general reform, of eradicating ancient prejudices, and of enlightening the minds of the people. Inquiries into the history and antiquities of the country met a liberal encouragement; sumptuous editions of the most valuable classics were published under the royal patronage; numerous public schools were instituted for the tuition of youth; societies were formed in every part of the kingdom for the establishment of arts, sciences, and manufactures; and a truly patriotic spirit began to appear in the projection of several public works and designs of the greatest permanency and national utility. About the same time, the king successfully resumed his favourite project of peopling and cultivating the Sierra Morena; caused some accurate charts to be drawn for the use of his marine; established a new East India company, under the name of the "Royal Philippine;" and made some important improvements in the administration of the colonial government.

The intermarriages which took place, in the Easter season, betweeen the infant Don Gabriel of Spain, and the infanta Donna Mariana Victoria of Portugal, on one side; and between the infant Don Juan of Portugal, and the infanta Donna Charlotta, eldest daughter of the prince of Asturias, on the other; not only obviated the jealousies which had long prevailed between these courts, but also occasioned a treaty of alliance between France and Portugal, which constituted a complete union between the latter and the house of Bourbon. A. D. 1786.

The longevity of cardinal de Solis, archbishop of Seville, who died about this time, would have rendered him an object of historical attention, even if the goodness of his heart and the excellency of his life had not particularly entitled him to that distinction. This celebrated character, who arrived to the patriarchal age of one hundred and ten years without the loss of any faculty, seemed to be the natural as well as the spiritual father of the people committed to his care, and he experienced a sweet remuneration of his labours, in their reverent and affectionate gratitude. When asked, by his intimate friends, what methods he had taken to prolong life to so extraordinary a period, he observed, that he had led a sober and studious but not a sedentary life; that his diet though delicate was sparing; and that he exercised himself every day, either in riding or walking. "So far," said the amiable prelate, "I took care for the body; and as to the mind I strove to preserve it in due temper by a scrupulous obedience to the Divine injunctions, and keeping a conscience void of offence toward God and man. By these easy and innocent means I have arrived at the age of a patriarch, with less injury to my constitution than many experience at forty. I am now, like ripe corn, ready for the sickle of death, and, by the mercy of my Redeemer, I have strong hopes of being translated into his granary." The king was much affected at the death of this worthy personage, and was heard to exclaim, "Would to heaven he had appointed a successor; for the people of Seville have been so long used to his virtues, that they will be

discontented with the best prelate I can send them."

Charles IV.* ascended the throne of Spain, on the demise of his father, and made his public entry into Madrid, on the 28th of September, with the utmost pomp and solemnity. The streets through which the procession passed were lined with troops, and all the houses were handsomely decorated and illuminated. On the 22d their majesties and the royal family went to the church of St. Jerome, adjoining the old palace of Buen Retiro, where they took their seats on a throne to the right of the altar, and received the customary oaths of allegiance. They then sat down to dinner at the Buen Retiro, and late in the evening returned to the palace. A. D. 1789.

The government of Spain testified great uneasiness at the French revolution, and watched narrowly those who attempted to defend its principles; for, though the scrupulous adherence of the Spaniards to the Romish tenets seemed to preclude the idea of their imitating a people who had recently expressed the most complete contempt for the sovereign pontiff, there were many persons who held that politics and religion were two different things, and that liberty might be asserted without violating the respect due to St. Peter's successor, and without separating from his communion. Alarmed at the diffusion of these sentiments, the Spanish court prohibited the circulation of all newspapers, and politi-

* This prince was born on the 11th of November 1748, and married to Louisa Maria Theresa, princess of Parma, on the 4th of September 1765.

cal pamphlets from France, and at the same time stationed troops on the frontiers, with order to stop every stranger whose character lay under any suspicion.

A. D. 1790. In consequence of a dispute relative to the sovereignty of Nootka Sound, his catholic majesty resolved to take up arms against Great Britain, and such formidable preparations were made in the different parts of his kingdom, that his navy was speedily augmented to seventy ships of the line, besides frigates and vessels of other descriptions. But the naval force of England was still so greatly superior, and the preparations of that country were made on so much larger a scale, that the court of Madrid suddenly changed their intentions, and consented to give the satisfaction demanded by Great Britain. Accordingly a declaration to this purpose was published on the 24th of July, and on the 28th of October following a convention between the king of Spain and his Britannic majesty was signed at the Escurial.

A. D. 1792. The beginning of this year was marked by the sudden dismission of count Florida Blanca from the office of prime minister. The reasons for this measure were not assigned, but it was probably adopted to appease the public murmurs at some late proceedings, and particularly against the edict concerning strangers, which certainly contributed to impose heavy fetters on the commerce of the nation. The place of this statesman was immediately filled by count d'Aranda, who abolished a kind of civil inquisition called the superintendant tribunal of police; and made

some liberal concessions to the people, in order to establish more firmly the throne of his royal employer. His influence, however, proved of short duration, and he was soon removed to make room for the duke de Alcudia.

The irregular proceedings of the French, the indecent reception of the interference of the court of Madrid in favour of Louis XVI. and the subsequent execution of that unfortunate monarch, induced his catholic majesty to declare war against France on the 23d of March; and the first actions which took place between the Spanish and republican forces were decidedly in favour of the former; for general Don Ricardos, who commanded in Catalonia, forced the town of Goret, which was defended by three thousand men, and put the enemy to flight with the loss of all their artillery; the troops under Don Ventura Caro destroyed the encampment of Biriatu, and drove the French from the fort of Andaya: the fortress of Bellegarde was also taken on the 22d of June, and on the 22d of September, general Ricardos obtained a decisive victory over the French in the vicinage of Truillas. A. D. 1793.

But the ensuing campaign proved altogether unfavourable and unpropitious. The French army took the field early in the month of February, and made such vigorous exertions to retrieve the credit of their countrymen, that the Spaniards were not only compelled to abandon St. Jean Deluz, Cerat, and the town of Boulon, but a complete victory was gained over them near Collisare, when, besides those that fell in battle, seven thousand men laid down their arms, and all the baggage and artillery fell into

the enemy's hands. About the same time the strong town of Bellegarde was wrested from Spain, after a brave but unsuccessful effort for its preservation, and upwards of six thousand troops were made prisoners.

The repeated failures of the Spanish commanders in their attacks on the French, induced them to collect a force which might afford better hopes of success. This project was accordingly reduced to execution, and they advanced against Dugommier, their most formidable enemy, to the neighbourhood of Spanilles. But though the contest was supported with equal fortitude and obstinacy, victory eventually declared for the French, and the assailants were repulsed with prodigious loss and slaughter. Dugommier, however, was slain, by a cannon ball, in the very moment of conquest.

Exasperated at these continual defeats, the Spanish officers resolved to concentrate their whole force in a position strong by nature, and rendered still more secure by a chain of entrenchments and batteries, which were defended by an army of forty thousand men. The enemy, however, advanced boldly to these stupendous works, and, after an action of about three hours, penetrated them in every quarter. The Spaniards certainly performed prodigies of valour upon this occasion, but their utmost exertions were insufficient to repel the fury of their assailants, and after a most sanguinary conflict, they were completely defeated and put to flight. This misfortune was immediately followed by the reduction of Saint Fernando de Figures, a place of extraordinary strength, garrisoned by nearly ten thousand men, and containing mi-

litary stores and other articles of immense value.

Elated by these brilliant successes, the French marched forward with such alacrity that all resistance fell before them, and they soon became masters of several important towns which opened the way into those parts they were chiefly desirous of attacking.

Nor were these calamities confined to the eastern frontiers of Spain. Vigorous exertions had been made against the invaders at Saint Jean Deluz, by the Spaniards; but general de la Forde soon defeated them, with the loss of their baggage, military stores and provisions: and a body of fifteen thousand Spanish troops was, soon after, dislodged from an important post on a mountain which had hitherto materially obstructed the designs of the enemy. This unfortunate action, in which the Spaniards lost two hundred pieces of cannon, and tents for twenty thousand men, besides a prodigious number of troops, that were either killed or made prisoners, emboldened the French to march immediately against Fontarabia, and in the space of four days they made themselves masters of that place together with Port Passage and Saint Sebastian, in which they took about three thousand prisoners, besides the prodigious stores with which those towns were furnished. It is, however, necessary to observe that this rapid augmentation of conquest resulted, in a great measure, from a very general change of political opinions among the Spaniards.

Disasters so repeated and unusual, filled the court of Madrid with inexpressible anxiety, and the desertion of a corps of the king's Walloon

guards, confirmed them in the distressing idea that the growing calamities were occasioned by disaffection. In this critical situation some advised a pacification as the only possible mode of subjugating those pernicious principles which had been imported from France; and others suggested the idea of raising the people in a mass; but those who recommended the latter expedient soon found it utterly impracticable, and the attempts which were made to disseminate among the commonalty a spirit of universal resistance, were all frustrated in the most vexatious manner. Nobles, ecclesiastics, placemen, and opulent adherents to government, were now called upon to assist the cause of their country; and these readily made such donations as the exigence of the state required. But, notwithstanding these exertions, the enemy continued to extend their conquests, and the despondency of the people soon became so apparent, that the court was clearly convinced that unless a speedy peace was concluded, the whole kingdom must be eventually reduced. Accordingly, after making every effort which art or prudence could suggest, his catholic majesty detached himself from the confederacy which had hitherto been attended with such ill success;
A. D. 1795. and intimated his resolution of putting an immediate termination to the war. This conduct gave the greatest pleasure to the generality of the nation; France was delighted with so great a diminution of the coalition, and a treaty of peace was concluded in the month of July, at Basle, by which his catholic majesty ceded all his part of Hispaniola in the West Indies, and the convention agreed to restore all

their recent conquests in Spain. It was also agreed that Spain should recognize the French and Batavian republics; and that France should admit the interposition of Spain on behalf of Naples, Parma, Sardinia, and Portugal.

Towards the close of the ensuing year, Spain was drawn into an alliance with the French republic, and persuaded to declare war against Great Britain. Accordingly, great naval preparations were made in all the Spanish ports; and in the summer of 1797, a fleet, consisting of six ships of one hundred and twelve guns, one of one hundred and thirty-six, two of eighty-four, and eighteen of seventy-four guns, was appointed to form a junction with the French fleet at Brest; and, after being reinforced by a numerous squadron of Dutch vessels, they were to put to sea all together, in order to execute their designs upon the British dominions. But before the intended junction could be effected the Spanish fleet was met by admiral Jervis, near cape St. Vincent, and an engagement ensued which, notwithstanding its prodigious inequality, terminated in the capture of four vessels and the loss of a considerable number of men. A part of the fleet, which had been dexterously separated from its main body by the British admiral, rejoined it with four other ships toward the close of the action, but the commanders were unwilling to engage; and, after a distant and ineffectual fire, they permitted the enemy to sail leisurely away with their valuable prizes.

The news of this transaction occasioned loud complaints at Madrid, and the generality of the nation began to complain that their countrymen were impressed into a service for which they

were totally unqualified, and against a nation with whom they had no reasonable ground of quarrel. However, these murmurs were silenced by the well-timed remonstrances of the ministry, though the majority bore with secret indignation an ignominious yoke, which had been imposed upon them by their dismayed and irresolute governors.

A. D. 1797. No sooner had the vanquished fleet retired to Cadiz than it was followed thither by the victors, who blocked it up so completely that not one of the Spanish ships in that capacious harbour durst venture out beyond the batteries which had been erected for their defence. Emboldened by this circumstance, and eager to achieve something of importance, the British admiral resolved to attempt a bombardment of the city of Cadiz, and commodore Nelson conducted this hazardous enterprise with extraordinary spirit and dexterity. But owing to the bad condition of the mortar piece, employed on this occasion, the project was partly frustrated. The conflict, however, was extremely obstinate, and both sides behaved with becoming intrepidity. Don Miguel Tyrasom, the commanding officer of the Spaniards, attacked the commodore with astonishing resolution, and positively refused to yield till eighteen of his men were killed, and the remaining nine with himself were desperately wounded. A second bombardment was attended with greater effect, insomuch, that ten of the largest men of war were obliged to quit their stations, and the inhabitants of the town began to provide for their safety by a precipitate flight. But the third attempt was prevented by a strong wind which blew directly

out of the harbour, and obstructed the approach of the enemy's shipping: and a subsequent attack on the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, proved extremely unfortunate to the assailants.

In consequence of a convention between his Britannic majesty and the emperor of Russia, the latter declared war against Spain, on the twenty-sixth of July, and his catholic majesty published an answer in very spirited language; but no exertions of importance seem to have been made by either of the nations. About this time Don Joseph de Bolignì, the Spanish chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, received an order to quit the dominions of the Sublime Porte within fourteen days. A. D. 1799.

On the fifth of October a British fleet, from the Mediterranean, consisting of twenty-two sail of the line, twenty-seven frigates, and ten smaller armed vessels, with eighty-four transports, appeared off Cadiz, where an epidemic distemper then raged with great violence. The governor, Don Thomas de Morla, immediately sent a letter to the English admiral, in which he pathetically described the distress of the inhabitants, and intimated an expectation that so humane an enemy as the English would not attempt to increase the public consternation by making an attack upon the town. To this letter lord Keith replied, that as the ships in that port were to be employed in augmenting the naval force of the French republic, and, consequently, of prolonging the calamities of Europe, an attack was only to be averted by the surrender of those vessels. As this message was received with the utmost indignation, Sir Ralph A. D. 1800.

Abercomby, the British general, began to make arrangements for a descent: but, on consideration of the strength of the fortifications and the extreme danger of infection, this design was laid aside.

A. D. 1801. In the spring of this year, the court of Madrid, in obedience to the command of their new allies, declared war against Portugal; and formidable preparations were made on the part of each nation: yet it was sufficiently obvious that both were averse to hostile measures. However it was absolutely necessary that some exertions should be made to satisfy the French republic. Accordingly a Spanish army, consisting of near forty thousand men, entered Alentejo from different points, and, in a short campaign, reduced all the important fortresses and magazines in that province: but his catholic majesty embraced the earliest opportunity of terminating this unpleasant business, and a pacification was signed with Portugal two days before the signing of the preliminaries of peace between France and Great Britain.

END OF THE FIFTEENTH VOLUME, OR THE SIXTH OF THE MODERN PART.

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